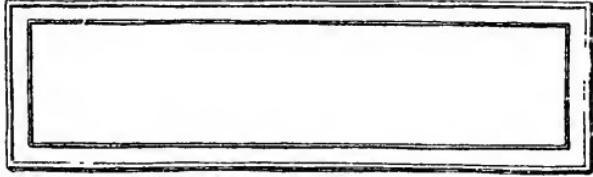
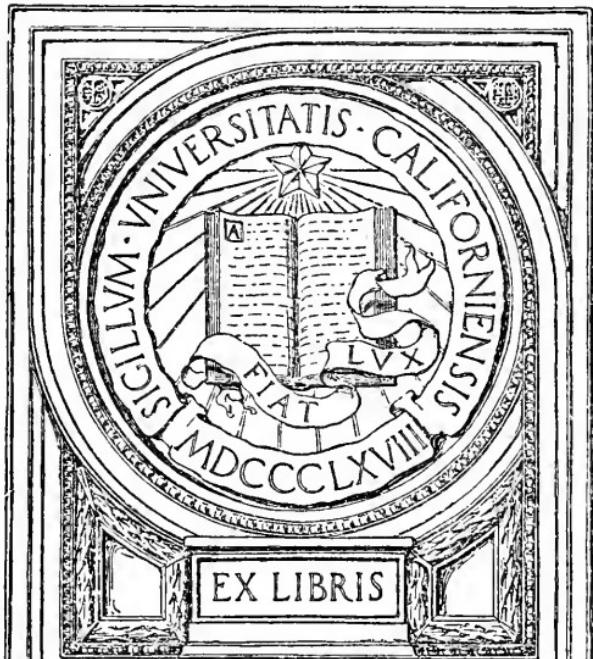


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ORGANIZED SELF-GOVERNMENT

BY

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1920

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HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
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FOREWORD TO THE TEACHER

The basic idea on which this book is planned is that *the object of teaching government is to inspire a respect for organized coöperation through government, and a willingness to do one's part in it.* But the pedagogical fact is recognized that the attention of the pupil must be captured, and his interest aroused, before he can be taught any subject. It is believed that his interest can be captured by showing him the practical value of political coöperation through presenting to him the importance of the work the government is expected to do, and the kind of training that is needed by those who must do it. Therefore a large part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the functions of government and the problems presented to those who perform these functions.

There is nothing more true in the field of education than that the child must learn to do by doing. The mind may suffer from indigestion and loss of appetite, just as the body may, if it takes in food in a quantity out of proportion to the exercise taken. The pupil must work with government as well as study it. Such work is suggested in the questions placed at the end of each chapter in the book; but the questions are in the nature of suggestions. Some teachers will use only a few of them; others may substitute questions of their own, or other tasks calling for observation and inquiry; still others will assign one question to one group of pupils, and another to another, with a view to

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the discussion of all of them in class. It is important above all things to remember that the object of the work is not primarily to learn the facts, although a good many of these must be learned; but to awaken attention and interest. The pupil must get into the habit of seeing his government about him, and of feeling his own part in it.

It is doubtful whether pupils in studying government should be required to read a great deal in books. To do so is likely to give the impression that it is not a real and practical subject. The pupil who lives in a city can find the work of government all about him—in the streets, in his home, in the school. What he needs is to have his eyes opened to it, and to have his mind trained to assess it. A child once went to a library to find a book on sunsets because he was asked to write an essay on the subject; yet he had seen sunsets almost every week in his life. The kind of questions suggested in this book; the reports the teachers will call for; the maps the pupil will draw of his neighborhood; the little surveys he will make of the conditions of travel or service in his city or State: all of these will open his eyes and concentrate his attention. The difficulties involved in voluntary coöperation and democratic control may be brought to his attention through efforts at self-government in his clubs and societies; the observation of the discipline of the school; and discussion of other similar phenomena. The teacher is urged to be patient in dealing with these things. A little reflection on what is really accomplished by the teachers of other subjects, in addition to the few facts which are soon forgotten, will encourage the teacher of government in such patience. How much love of literature does the study of English promote? How much comprehension of the processes of

nature results from the elementary study of science? The teachers of those subjects are doing their best; but the teacher of government may well compare the results of our effort with the results of theirs and be hopeful.

But a mere interest in government is not sufficient. Our work must also lay down a few—there are only a few—of the accepted principles of sound political coöperation. A half-dozen or so of these principles are woven into the discussion in this book: *the short ballot principle*, that voters should not be expected to make too many decisions at one election; *the principle of civil service reform*, that work can be safely entrusted only to those who know how to do it and have had some experience; *the principle of the executive budget*—that those who spend the money should make an organized statement of their needs once a year in order that their plans may be understood and weighed; *the principle of responsible leadership*—that we can be protected from the demagogue only through a government so organized that it places power in the hands of our leaders from whom we expect real service. The elements of these principles may be taught to pupils of fourteen years, and our work is aimless unless we do teach them.

The outline of this book is determined by the foregoing notions. There are five parts, each of which is an organic unit, but each of which is a step in the evolution of the course. Part I presents the elementary ideas of voluntary coöperation; the parliamentary law which makes discussion possible, the making of rules which is the basis of a rule of law, the selection of officers to enforce these rules, and the writing of a constitution or the organization of the government. Part II applies these elementary prin-

ciples to the government of a city. First is presented the work the city is expected to do, then the method of organizing it to do this work. The pupil must realize that the officers of the city are his officers, just as are the officers of his athletic association or his society; and that they are doing work for him which he wants done. Part III presents the government of the State in much the same way, but in less detail, for work of the State is too widespread to be given in detail in so small a book for so brief a course. Part IV presents the government of the United States fully enough to enable the pupil to grasp its importance to him and its need of his support. Part V suggests, by way of summary and conclusion, several general ideas for which it is hoped the discussion of the book has prepared the way. The more experience the teacher has had, the more he will be able to expand these last few chapters.

It is not necessary for the class to study the whole book. If the time is limited, only Part II may be taught; or any one or two parts may be omitted, and the remainder taught. When the government of the city is studied, the teacher may wish to omit one or two chapters on its functions. The interest and experience of the teacher should to some extent determine a matter of this sort, for in the last analysis the teacher is likely to handle well only what he himself finds interesting.

For the teacher who is not yet familiar with the literature of this subject the following suggestions may be found useful. Among the books of college grade, if only one is to be depended on, *American Government and Politics* by Charles A. Beard (The Macmillan Company) is probably still the most useful. It discusses city, state, and national governments; and both the functions and the organization

of each. If two books are to be used, it may be better to buy *The Government of the United States* by W. B. Munro (The Macmillan Company); and *The New American Government and its Work* by James T. Young (The Macmillan Company). Both are thoroughly up-to-date; the former dealing mainly with organization and the latter giving more attention to functions and problems. It is unfortunate that Young's book does not discuss city government. This lack may be supplied by some such work as *The Modern City and its Problems* by F. C. Howe (Scribner's Sons), or *American City Government* by Charles A. Beard (The Century Company). The teacher who wishes another and fuller treatise will still find *The American Commonwealth* by James Bryce (The Macmillan Company), in two volumes, an interesting and stimulating work, although in some of its details it is out of date.

Among the most helpful books written for high school teachers the following are reliable and any one of them will be found a useful manual for the teacher's desk: *American Government* by R. L. Ashley (The Macmillan Company); *Government and Politics in the United States* by W. B. Guitteau (Houghton Mifflin Company); and *Form and Functions of American Government* by T. H. Reed (World Book Company).

Among the still more elementary texts the following may be mentioned: *The American Citizen* by C. F. Dole (Heath); *The Community and the Citizen* by A. W. Dunn (Heath); *Our America* by J. A. Lapp (Bobbs-Merrill); and *Community Civics* by R. O. Hughes (Allyn and Bacon).

A fuller bibliography need not be given here for the reason that nearly every book mentioned above refers

the reader to an ample list of well selected discussions relating directly to the topics treated in its several chapters.

The following works should be available for the use of the teacher either in the school or the public library. While the first work is disappointing, it is the only convenient source from which to derive detailed information on the multitude of subjects which come up in our teaching:

Cyclopedie of American Government, Appleton.

Congressional Directory, with current detailed information about the Federal government.

Legislative Manual of the State in which the school is situated, giving current detailed information about the State officers.

Some handbook of the government of the home city. If there is none, the teacher might find time, with the help of the pupils, to prepare one.

The World Almanac, New York City.

The American Yearbook.

Cumulative Index to Periodicals, through which may be found discussions of any subject in which the pupil or teacher is interested.

The habit should be formed of applying to city, state, and national departments of government, and to reform organizations, for their publications or for detailed information. They are generally glad to reply promptly and helpfully to all inquiries. Among the reform organizations, the following are particularly useful:

American City Bureau, 154 Nassau Street, New York.

Bureau of Municipal Research, 261 Broadway, New York.

League to Enforce Peace, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

National Civil Service Reform League, 79 Wall Street,
New York.

National Conference for City Planning, 19 Congress
Street, Boston.

National Municipal League, North American Building,
Philadelphia.

National Short Ballot Organization, 8 West 9th Street,
New York.

Proportional Representation League, Haverford, Penn-
sylvania.

In the state and city there will also be found helpful
bureaus and leagues, the secretaries of which are always
glad to give assistance to teachers.

Commerce and Industry by J. Russell Smith (Henry
Holt & Company), is as interesting as a novel to one who
wishes to know the facts of the work of the world, for the
control of which government largely exists. Other helpful
works are:

The Economic History of the United States by E. L.
Bogart (Longmans).

*The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United
States* by C. R. Van Hise (The Macmillan Company).

The Industrial Evolution of the United States by C. D.
Wright (Chautauqua Press).

Pedagogical aid for the teacher of government is meager
and unsatisfactory. Most of the school textbooks offer sug-
gestions and the following material will be found helpful by
the discriminating reader:

The Teaching of Civics by Mabel Hill (Houghton Mifflin
Company).

The Teaching of Government by a committee of which

FOREWORD

Charles G. Haines was chairman (The Macmillan Company). The first hundred pages of this work will be useful to the teacher, as will the appendix which contains reports from leading high school teachers in all parts of the country.

Bulletins 41 and 47 (1913), *17 and 23* (1915), and *28* (1916), of the National Bureau of Education.

The Course of Study in Civics, two volumes, for the schools of Philadelphia, John P. Garber, Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia, 1916.

Lessons in Community and National Life, issued by the National Bureau of Education in three volumes for elementary and high schools.

For those who are interested in experiments in self-government in school the following titles are added:

Pupil Self-Government in Theory and Practice by Bernard Cronson (The Macmillan Company), is an interesting discussion of this subject from the standpoint of one who believes in it, and who has tried it as principal of a school.

Parliamentary Law by F. M. Gregg (Ginn).

Parliamentary Procedure by G. G. Crocker (Putnams).

The teaching of our subject would advance more rapidly if we who are interested in it would correspond more frequently about our difficulties and our means of overcoming them. The author of this book has been greatly aided by many colleagues, and would be grateful for an opportunity to compare notes with others with whom he has not exchanged views. To mention all who have contributed to the ideas or expression of this book, or who have removed errors from the manuscript, would be to make too long a list; but the author cannot resist the temptation to make special mention of the aid and encourage-

ment he has received from Professors Henry Johnson, of Teachers College; Lane Cooper, of Cornell; I. N. Kandel, of Teachers College; J. N. Barnard, of the School of Pedagogy; Messrs. W. W. Rogers, of Curtis High School; G. D. Leutscher, of Jamaica High School; F. B. Reed; E. H. Whitehill; Sinclair Kennedy; and W. H. Gardiner. Without the assistance given by his wife and a number of his students at Hunter College, the work could not have been done. The author alone is responsible for such defects as the book still contains, and he hopes for the coöperation of those teachers who use it in removing them and in making it an implement for the cultivation of real democracy in our country.



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ORGANIZED SELF-GOVERNMENT

PART I

ELEMENTS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER I

PARLIAMENTARY LAW

1. Rules for Meetings. When a number of people meet to discuss any important matter it is necessary for them to have rules so that their discussion may not fall into confusion. They attend such meetings for the purpose of saying what they think and of hearing what others have to say. They can accomplish neither of these objects unless the meeting is conducted according to rules which will prevent several different things from being discussed at the same time. The rules are not to keep members from being heard, but to keep the discussion to one subject until it is settled, and to give each member a chance to speak on this subject without interruption.

2. Parliamentary Law. English-speaking people call such rules parliamentary law because the English Parliament was the first great Assembly to make use of this special kind of orderly discussion. The Parliament is a meeting of representatives of the English people for the purpose of discussing political questions and making laws. These representatives come together to decide what is best for their country, and, because their government is democratic, each member of the Parliament must have received a fair chance to be heard on every subject that comes up for decision. Parliament is a French word which means *discussion* or

speaking together. The English adopted this French word because England was for a long time governed by the Normans, a French-speaking people, who conquered the country in 1066. A great many years of conflict were necessary before England became democratic.

3. Different Names for Meetings. In America we call meetings for public discussion by a number of different names. We are here interested only in those that have a political purpose. The meeting in Washington of representatives from the whole country to make laws for the nation is called the Congress of the United States. The word *congress* is derived from the Latin, and means a *coming together*. A meeting of representatives to make laws for a State is usually called a *legislature*. A meeting of delegates to talk over the affairs of a political party is called a *convention*. This word is also from the Latin and means a *coming together*. It is clear that all of these words,—parliament, congress, assembly, convention,—mean about the same thing; and they will all be clearer to us if we think of each of them as describing a group of people who gather together for the purpose of discussing some subject that is of interest to all who attend the meeting. All such bodies use the same parliamentary law; but each is free to make such special rules as will fit the general law to the particular meeting.

4. The Importance of Rules. Nearly every person who works with his fellow men is now and then called upon to take part in some kind of meeting. If as many as twenty-five people assemble in a room to discuss some plan, it is necessary for them to use parliamentary law. For such a gathering only the simplest rules may be sufficient; but at least some must be used. We may compare these rules with

those for a game of ball. If a few boys meet on a field for a game they may not need many rules, but those which they do use are the same as those used by great ball teams. If the boys decide to form a regular team to play a match game with the boys of another town, they get a book of printed rules and study them carefully. The more important the game or the meeting, the more fully the rules must be learned. But in the least important game or meeting some of the regular rules are needed.

5. The Chairman of a Meeting. The first thing a meeting does is to elect a chairman, for nothing can be done in an orderly way without some one in charge. A member rises, calls for attention, and nominates some popular person for the position. If there is likely to be a contest over the chairmanship, a temporary chairman is first selected, it being understood that he will hold the position only until a permanent chairman can be regularly elected. Besides the permanent chairman, it is also customary to elect a vice-chairman, who presides when the chairman is away or when he wishes to speak in the debate. It is not proper for the chairman, while he is presiding, to take any part in the discussion; he must be a sort of umpire between the speakers. The word preside also comes from Latin roots, and means to sit out in front. Therefore the words president and chairman mean very much the same thing.

6. The Chairman's Duty. It is the first duty of the chairman to keep the meeting in order; and it is necessary for him to be strict. If he does not compel every member to obey the rules, the discussion is likely to fall into confusion and so fail to be beneficial. If any member refuses to obey the chairman, such a member may be requested to leave the room. If this request is not sufficient, the

chairman may declare the meeting at an end and leave the chair. His second duty is to restate the subject under discussion so that it may be understood by all members, and to call the attention of the speakers to the subject when they seem to be talking about something else. It is his duty to keep the discussion moving along so that business may be promptly completed. If he is not a firm chairman the meeting is likely to be a failure.

7. The Secretary of the Meeting. It is important that a written record be kept of the meeting. In the excitement of debate members often forget just what has been done, and if a record is not prepared they are likely to have different opinions about what they have voted on. It is usual, therefore, to elect a secretary or to direct the chairman to appoint one. The latter is the simpler and generally the better method. The record of the meeting is called the *minutes*. These are read at the opening of the next meeting so that they may be corrected. If no one objects to them when they are read they are accepted as the official record. If there is objection, a vote is taken as to their correct form. It is particularly important that every motion be carefully recorded; but the secretary may decide what other things are important enough to be written into the minutes.

8. Beginning Debate. There should be no general discussion until a motion has been made by one member and seconded by another. The purpose of requiring that a motion be seconded is to prevent the discussion of a subject unless at least two members wish to have it discussed. No member should try to speak without saying "Mr. Chairman" and receiving some reply showing that he is permitted to speak. A good chairman will prevent any speaking whatever except on a motion which has been made and

seconded. He should not permit the same member to speak more than once on the same motion until all have spoken who wish to speak; and he should let no one speak more than twice on the same motion without unanimous consent. The purpose of this rule is to give all the members an equal chance to take part in the debate. It is well for the chairman to repeat the motion carefully before the debate begins and for the secretary to record it in the minutes just as the chairman states it.

9. Limiting the Time for Debate. It frequently happens that members wish to speak too long. It is customary, therefore, to make a rule that no one may speak for more than a certain number of minutes and that the debate must close at a certain time. If neither of these rules has been made, it is proper for a member to rise and move that the debate close. If this motion is seconded, the chairman asks for a vote to see whether a majority wishes to end the discussion. One must always remember that in such a meeting the majority should be permitted to do whatever it wishes. On the other hand, it is wise to permit a fair and free discussion as long as there is anything useful to be said. It sometimes happens that the members wish further information before they vote on a motion. If this is the case some one may move to postpone the discussion for another day and to refer the matter to a committee for a report. Such a committee is generally appointed by the chairman, and it should include some members who are opposed to the motion as well as some who are in favor of it.

10. Other Rules. In this brief chapter only the merest suggestion of parliamentary rules can be given. The rules for amending or changing motions, for taking votes when the members are nearly evenly divided, for substituting

other motions, for adjourning, for disputing the decisions of the chairman when he seems to be wrong, and for many similar things must be read in books on parliamentary law. There are many good and convenient manuals, several of which are mentioned on page x of this book. It is customary for an assembly which meets regularly to place in its constitution some such section as the following:

"The rules of order as given in manual shall govern the meetings of this body, subject to such special rules as this body shall adopt."

Such a regulation makes it possible for the assembly to have a few simple rules for its ordinary use, and also to have a means of settling disputes when the debate becomes complicated and excited.

It is also customary for the constitution to contain a regular order of business such as the following:

The minutes of the last meeting
Election of officers
Announcements
Reports of standing committees
Reports of special committees
Unfinished business
New business

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS¹

1. Why do we have parliamentary law?
2. Mention as many bodies as you can think of in which parliamentary law may be used.
3. If you are a member of any club or society, describe how its meetings are carried on.
4. Why should a member not be permitted to speak as often as he wishes?

¹ TO THE TEACHER: The suggestions and questions which are placed at the end of each chapter have a two-fold purpose. It is hoped that they will serve to attract attention to the government in which the pupils are immediately interested, thus making the work

5. Why should the time for closing a debate be set before the debate begins?
 6. Suppose the school does not like the way the foot-ball team is managed, how should the pupils set about making a change?
 7. If a meeting were called to discuss the change, what officers would the meeting need to keep its discussion in order?
 8. If those who attended the meeting wanted the subject studied by a few of the pupils, how would they arrange for this?
 9. If a committee brought in a report on the management of the foot-ball team, would it be useful to discuss the report before voting on it?
 10. If a majority of the members were in favor of the report what would be the advantage of letting those opposed to it make any speeches?
 11. If it seemed wise to change the report after the discussion, how would the meeting make the changes?
 12. If the minority who are opposed to the report insists on talking so long that a vote cannot be taken, what can the majority do?
 13. If after the meeting the minutes of the meeting were lost, what could be done to get a new record?
 14. If the object of the meeting were to find the wisest method of managing the foot-ball team, what advantage would there be in asking a teacher to be present?
 15. What kind of pupils would probably object to the teacher being present?
- practical. It is also hoped that they will show the pupils that government is not a simple matter, but one which requires more maturity and wisdom than they command. The author trusts that the teacher will not answer a single one of the questions for the pupils. To do so would go a long way toward preventing useful results from being obtained. It might be advisable in some cases to suggest to pupils where answers may be found; but in many other cases it would be better to do not even this. Furthermore, it is not expected that any one class will have time to answer all or even a large part of the questions on the chapter under discussion. They are given as samples of the kind of work the author expects may be done with the aid of the book; but many teachers will use questions and problems of their own selection, and when they have the time, this method would certainly be desirable. The author believes that the purpose of the teaching of government to young people is not mainly to give them facts, but to interest them in the problems which confront the statesmen, and thus to give them respect for statesmanship and a disposition to trust and support public servants in their difficulties after they have carefully selected them.

CHAPTER II

RULES AND LEGISLATION

11. Our Purpose. We are engaged in the study of government because it is necessary for every citizen to understand how he can be a useful member of the community in which he lives. We shall often repeat the statement that government is made up of rules and rulers, of laws and officers of the law. Therefore it is important at the beginning of our study clearly to understand these two ideas. This chapter is a discussion of the simplest kind of rules and how they are made. If we understand this chapter we shall be the better able to understand the more difficult subject of making rules for cities and countries.

12. Legislation. The word legislation comes from two Latin roots which mean to make laws or rules, and a *legislature* is a body of persons who make laws. The members of it are called *legislators* or *law-makers*. In the last chapter we discussed the simplest kind of legislation, which is the adoption of a set of parliamentary rules for a group of persons who meet together for discussion. Such a group usually does not take the trouble to make any new rules at all; its members simply adopt those parliamentary laws which are used by so many assemblies that they are printed in convenient books. But when they vote to adopt a manual of parliamentary law for their meetings, they thus make a law by which all the members are bound. In this chapter it will be convenient for us to discuss the making

of rules for an athletic association in order to illustrate methods of legislation. But what we say here applies to the government of any other association or group of persons.

13. Representatives. Many athletic associations are too large for all of their members to meet together for the purpose of legislation. When this is true, the members may do either of two things. They may call a meeting of all the members, and then let the few who happen to come control the association's work; or they may select regular representatives to act for all the members. The latter is considered the better method for it helps to prevent a small group of active members from having too much power. Representatives may be elected to speak for each of the different branches of the association, and so for all the members who have any interest in it. For example, there may be representatives from each of the school classes. This system gives the Freshmen an opportunity to have some part in deciding what the association shall do. Or the constitution may provide that the captain and business-manager of each team may be members of the legislature, so that each branch of sport may be represented. Such matters as these should be arranged when the constitution of the association is written. We shall consider the writing of a constitution in Chapter Four.

14. Experience and Legislation. Those who have had little experience with government are likely to think that legislators should make a large number of new laws. But persons who know something of the way good government is carried on know that to make many new laws may lead to dangerous experiments and is likely to weaken our respect for the government that makes them. We have already seen that few associations try to make new parlia-

mentary law for themselves. They simply use the experience of the meetings which have gone before them. If you select a legislature for your athletic association, and if its members are wise, they will find that the best laws they can make are those which other athletic associations are already using. The young and thoughtless members may wish to try many new things; but the older ones are likely to vote them down in order that the association may not make mistakes. For this reason among others the constitution is likely to give more votes to the Seniors than to the Freshmen. In the government of a country the people who are always proposing new laws are called *radicals*. Much of the politics of the country consists of discussions between the radicals and those who do not want to make any changes, who are called *reactionaries*. You will find both classes in your school, but the wiser members do not belong to either class. They are willing to make changes in the rules after careful consideration, but not to try experiments thoughtlessly.

15. Obeying the Law. There may be a few members of any association who are *anarchists*, that is, persons who are unwilling to obey any law that they do not vote for. If they were rulers they would be tyrants, for they always insist on having their own way. Since they cannot be rulers, because their classmates do not trust them, they may try to prevent self-government from being a success. We should be patient with these persons as long as we possibly can, but we must not let them break up our association. A member who is not willing to obey a rule which the majority has made is unfair to the whole association, for it is almost never possible to find a rule which all members will vote for. If we elect representatives to the legislature of the association we agree to obey the rules they make. If our

own particular representative has his way, and makes the rule we like, we are happy; but if he does not, it is still our duty to obey the rule just as if we had had our way. It is impossible to have self-government unless the minority obeys the rules which the majority makes.

16. Patient Discussion. One error into which young people sometimes fall is the idea that laws should be made by a majority of votes without giving the minority a chance to be heard. For example, a rule is to be made about requirements for membership on the baseball team. Many think that pupils who do not keep up with their studies should not be allowed to play. This is a sensible rule, if for no other reason than that such pupils are likely to be dropped from the school and so weaken the team in the middle of the season. Now the question is, just what rule should be made? Shall we say that those who have failed in one subject shall not play, or shall we make it two or three or even more subjects? The representatives will differ on this question, of course. Is it advisable to take a vote at once without discussion? Some will say: "We know how we are going to vote, and don't need any discussion," but this is not a wise course. In the first place, careful discussion may bring out some new information which will help to prevent a mistake. In the second place, those who do not have their way will be better satisfied with the new rule if they have had an opportunity to discuss it, and if they feel that they have been permitted to give all their reasons for their opinions. If the discussion is well conducted, most of the members will see that the new rule is at least reasonable even if they do not think it is the best possible one. If the members get into the habit of simply voting on new rules without discussion, the minority

naturally will become so dissatisfied that they will lose all interest in the work of the association.

17. Advice from Teachers. Pupils who are practising self-government sometimes forget that their teachers are their friends and wish to help them. Consequently, they often neglect the opportunity to ask advice from these friends. Some of the teachers, both men and women, have been members of athletic associations. Those who have not, have doubtless belonged to other clubs or societies which practise self-government. Because of their experience they are able to help the pupils to avoid the disagreements and quarrels which often cause self-government to fail. The teachers and principal are just as much interested in having the school athletic association succeed as are the pupils. It is therefore helpful to seek their advice on all difficult matters. Moreover, the teachers are in duty bound to prevent anything from being done which will injure the school. Therefore, unless the pupils talk matters over with them, it may be necessary sometimes for the faculty to cancel a law after it has been made. One must remember that an association exists in order to get work done, not merely to give the members an opportunity to have their own way. Those in authority in the school must be considered by all association officers and members in order that the best work may be done.

18. Taxing the Members. One of the most difficult problems in all government is to find a method of paying expenses. While most of us are willing to pay our share, we are very careful to avoid paying more. It is the duty of the legislature to solve this problem and to solve it so that as few members as possible will be dissatisfied. The simplest method is to require every member to pay the same

amount of dues or taxes, but this is not always the fairest or the most reasonable method. Some of the pupils are not able to pay as much as others. Here is one suggestion, though your legislature may be able to find a better one. Ask each member to report the amount spent by him for amusement in a year; add these amounts together; divide the total amount of the association's expenses by the sum of the expenditures of all the members for amusement; multiply the result of this division by each member's amusement money. This will give a fair rate of tax based on each member's ability to pay. Try it once at least as an experiment.

19. A Budget. This book will refer to the budget in several different places. Your association should manage its finances carefully, but it cannot do so unless your officers make a careful statement once a year of all its income and all its expenses. This statement should be examined by an auditing committee composed of several members so that all the members of the association may know, if they wish, just how much money is collected and for just what purposes it is used. If this statement includes not only the accounts of the year just closing, but also an estimate for the one just beginning, it is a budget.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

The following questions are to help you to think of the comparison between making rules for your athletic association and making laws for your city or State.

1. Bring to class two dictionary definitions of legislation.
2. Make a list of different kinds of legislative bodies, including some which are not political, such as the faculty of a school.
3. Bring to class two dictionary definitions of a representative.
4. What representatives make the rules for the management of your church?

5. If you have any radicals in your school do the pupils have as much confidence in them as in the conservatives?
6. Have you any reactionaries in your school? What is the difference between a reactionary and a conservative?
7. Why would the officers of your athletic association try to find out what rules other athletic associations use?
8. What would happen to an athletic team made up of members who persisted in failing to obey the rules?
9. What would be the objection to letting the president of the association award the school letters as he pleases without any rules?
10. Make a budget of your own expenses for a month.
11. What effect do you think a budget would have on the way you spent your money?
12. Who should make up the budget for your athletic association?

CHAPTER III

RULERS AND OFFICERS

20. Anarchy. When a large number of people live together in a community they must either live under government or in anarchy, for the word anarchy means having no government. There are some people who think it is possible for people to work together in communities without rules or rulers. Such persons are called *anarchists*. Some only pretend to believe in anarchy because they wish to destroy self-government that they may have their own selfish way. Despots, criminals, and anarchists are alike in one important respect. They are not willing to obey the law which is made by a majority of their fellows. You will find in your athletic association and other school organizations some members who come very near to being anarchists. Some of them may be influential pupils who want their own way all the time and so are not willing to discuss self-government with a majority. These are most like despots. Others are merely selfish and wish to take advantage of being in a school without helping to make it useful through the rules that all will obey. Because of such persons it is necessary in all government to have rulers and officers whose duty it is to watch for the violation of rules and to correct the violators.

21. Government. If we take the trouble to think about it we find that government is a very simple and reasonable thing. It is largely a means of finding out what most of

us want and then of requiring the others to play fair and not be selfish. In the last chapter we had a discussion of the making of rules by a majority. Now we come to a selection of the rulers or officers whose duty it is to enforce the rules.

22. Two Methods of Choosing Officers. There are many ways of classifying rulers; but there is one mode of division which we should understand at the beginning and should think about all through our study of self-government. This is the classification of officers into those which should be elected and those who should be appointed. In all governments in America we elect a great many officers; we elect so many that the voters often pay but little attention to the names of the people they vote for. You will be tempted to do the same thing in your athletic association and in other experiments in self-government. Let us illustrate this idea. Would it be better to elect the members of the baseball team or to let the coach appoint them? If we elect them the popular fellows will have the places on the team. If the coach appoints them he is likely to try to have a good team under him and so will generally appoint the ones who can play best. But we must elect some of our rulers for the association. If we do not we shall not have self-government. Which officers should be elected and which appointed is a question for you to consider when you write your constitution.

23. The Work of a Judge. Since you are practising self-government it is well for us to refer here to one kind of officer whom you may not have in your athletic association, but whose work some one in the association must do. When rules are made they are generally brief and simple. But it is difficult to tell in some cases whether they have

been violated or not. If we make a rule that any member of a team who does anything discreditable to the school shall not be allowed to play again, it is not always easy for all to agree upon what is discreditable. It will therefore be necessary to hold a trial when any one seems to have violated such a rule and to hear witnesses in order to judge how serious the offense against the school has been. The holding of such a trial is a fair and reasonable act of self-government and no member of the team who wishes to obey the rules will object to being tried when his fellow-players think he has done wrong.

24. Supporting our Rulers. It is clearly impossible to maintain self-government unless most of us support the officers whom we have chosen. If the coach of the basketball team orders a player to come to practice at a particular time, and if he then refuses to let the player go into a game because he has not come to the practice, we must support the coach. He is our servant, we have selected him because we intend him to control the team. He cannot do this unless the members know that the association will support him when he has to discipline players. When some people practise self-government in a city or State they are too likely to forget this important duty to help and support the police and other public servants. They elect officers and demand that they enforce the law, and then take the side of those who violate the very laws they have helped to make. This is one reason why self-government is so difficult sometimes.

25. Selecting Officers. We have already referred to the fact that many officers should be appointed rather than elected, but that some must be elected. Before the election comes the nomination of candidates. The word nomination

comes to us from the Latin and means to name or to point out. Candidates are often nominated carelessly because an election must finally decide who is to be chosen. But if all of the nominations are carelessly made, then the election will not be a success, since only those candidates will be voted for who have been thus carelessly nominated. The best way to nominate candidates in the association is by petition. A rule may be made that any one may be nominated whose friends present a petition signed by ten per cent of the members. If this method is used no one will be nominated who is not supported by at least one-tenth of the association; at least one-tenth of the members believe each nominated candidate to be the best person for the office.

26. **Election.** If candidates are nominated by petition more than two will probably run for each office. The question then must be answered, shall the association be satisfied with officers elected by a *plurality* or shall it try to find a plan by which a majority is required to elect? An election is decided by a plurality vote when the successful candidate receives more votes than any other candidate, but not more than all others combined; it is decided by a majority vote when he receives more than all the others combined. If five candidates are running in an association with one hundred members the one elected by a plurality may receive only twenty-one votes, seventy-nine having been cast for the other candidates. One of the best methods yet found for avoiding the election of plurality candidates is called *preferential voting*. There are several methods of conducting an election with preferential voting, but we need describe only the simplest.

27. **The Ballot.** On the ballot are written or printed the

names of all who have been nominated by petitions. Space is left for the voter to write in the name of another candidate if he wishes to do so, but this is a mere form and may be safely ignored. Only three choices are provided for on many ballots, but it is possible to provide for more. When the ballot is completed it is like the following, the names of the candidates being represented by A B C D E F: .

Candidates	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice
A			
B			
C			
D			
E			
F			

The voter makes a cross in the first column opposite the name of the candidate whom he wishes to elect; a second cross in the next column opposite the name of his second choice; and so on.

28. Counting the Ballots. After all have voted the committee in charge of the election counts the ballots. The ballots giving candidate A as first choice are put in one pile; those giving candidate B as first choice in another, and so on. After all the ballots have been classified, the result may be found to be somewhat as follows: A has 20 votes, B 31, C 15, D 26, E 5, and F 3. That is, some who signed a petition for E or F decided to vote for another candidate when the time for election came. Now what shall be done with these piles in order to find out who is the majority candidate? B already has a plurality of the votes. We first take the ballots on which F is given as first choice. It is clear that he cannot be elected. Therefore his ballots are

put on the piles which their second choiees indicate. For example, the first ballot on F's pile may give D as second choicer. If so, it is placed on D's pile and counted for him. After F's pile has been distributed still no eandidate has a majority of the votes. Therefore we break up E's pile, for that is the next smallest, and distribute it as the second choices indicate. In this way the smaller piles disappear until one candidate has been given more than half of all the ballots. He then has a majority vote. If one of the ballots with F as first choice was placed on E's pile, then if E's pile was broken up and these ballots distributed, the third choice on this ballot would be used; for F, the first choice, and E, the second choicer, would already be out of the race.

29. One Objection to This Plan. Some say that this plan cuts F out of the race too soon because many of C's ballots might show a second choice for F. Those who think this objection important have invented another method of counting, but it is too difficult for us to describe at this time. The purpose of our present plan is to find a simple method by which the preferences of the voters may be expressed.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. How successful would an athletic team be which had no captain?
2. Try to describe the way an athletic association would work if it had no officers to plan its work and to take care of its money.
3. Which is the more useful member of a team; a pretty good player who does just what the coach tells him, or a somewhat better player who violates the rules and gets penalized?
4. For which member of the association do you have more respect; the one who helps the officers or the one who is always finding fault with them?

5. Which requires more brains; to criticise what is being done or to suggest a more helpful way of doing it?

6. If those who do not vote for the officers, try to spoil the work of these officers, are they faithful to the idea of self-government?

7. If you have time in class try this experiment: elect a president of the class in the old-fashioned way without preferential ballots, and then with them. See if the result is the same.

8. If you try this experiment, arrange for it beforehand and try nominating by petition.

9. Why is it unfair to elect people to offices and then not try to help them enforce the rules?

10. The people of the city elect the school officers, and these officers make rules for the good of the pupils and the school. What do you think of a pupil who does not help the teacher to enforce the rules of the school? Is not such a pupil a sort of anarchist?

CHAPTER IV

A CONSTITUTION

30. Kinds of Rules. It is important to distinguish between rules or laws which form a part of the constitution and those which are made by the legislature after the government has been organized under the constitution. The former have to do with the organization of the government, and the latter with carrying on the work of the government after it is organized. The organic law of a State or Nation is called a constitution; that of a city is called a charter. Laws made by a State legislature or by Congress are called statutes; those made by a city council are called ordinances; and those made by a club are called by-laws. Statutes, ordinances, and by-laws are, therefore, but different names for laws of one kind, while constitutions and charters are names for laws of another kind.

31. Charters and Constitutions. When you begin to form an association or club, or when older people begin to form a government for a city or a State, the first step is to write a constitution or charter. The difference between these two is that a constitution is made for a government which is independent of higher authority, and a charter is made for one which is subject to higher authority, such as the government of a city; for a city is under the control of a State. Most people speak of the constitution for an association of pupils in a school, but it would be more correct to speak of it as a charter. The association is not

independent; it is under the control of the school, and its members should always keep this fact clearly in mind. The word constitution is so generally used, however, for the organic law of clubs and associations that it will not be misleading to so use it if you understand the difference between charters and constitutions.

32. Organization. Nothing should be put into a charter or constitution except the rules which have to do with the organization. If other regulations are put in, the members or citizens may find it difficult to understand their government. This is one reason why it is so hard for us to understand the governments of our cities and States. The charters and constitutions often contain many things which should rather be in the ordinances or statutes. Let us see what the word organization means. It means to provide organs and it comes to us from the Latin. An organ, the dictionary tells us, is an instrument, and an instrument is something we work with. Therefore the charter or constitution, which organizes our government, provides something to work with. It provides for a legislature, which is an organ for making statutes; it provides for a court, which is an organ for trying cases; and it provides for an executive department, which is an organ to enforce the laws after they are made. Your association will need only a few organs; your constitution or charter therefore need not be long or complex. You will need a simple organ for making rules, and you will need some persons who will enforce these rules and do other things such as manage athletic teams and collect money.

33. A Constitutional Convention. We have already seen that a convention is an assembly or parliament. A constitutional convention is a meeting to discuss and to

write a constitution. Such a convention needs the ordinary officers, such as a chairman, a secretary, and possibly a few others. It will save time if at its first meeting it selects committees on the subjects discussed in the following paragraphs of this chapter. These committees will study the subjects referred to them and bring in reports. Subsequent meetings of the convention will then discuss the reports of the committees, and so will have something definite to do. Each committee might write one article of the constitution.

34. Legislation. The committee on legislation will consider several problems, such as, first, who shall make rules; second, how these persons shall be elected; third, on what subjects they shall make rules; and fourth, how they shall go about their work? Therefore the article on legislation will contain at least four sections, each dealing with one of these problems. The first section will describe the legislature, which for an athletic association might consist of eight to fifteen or more members. It will perhaps be called the council or commission, and may be made up of representatives from the various teams or from the various classes in the school, so that all pupils may feel that they have a part in making the rules. The second section will describe the method of electing these representatives, possibly saying that the preferential ballot shall be used, and that elections must take place at some definite time in the school session. The third section will give a list of subjects on which the legislators are to make rules, such as membership on the teams, the award of the school numerals or letters, and the handling of the money of the association. The fourth section will describe the method of voting in the legislature, the number which must be present when

rules are made, and other means of keeping the legislature from acting too hastily or carelessly. Possibly all rules should be posted on the bulletin board before a final vote is taken on them.

35. Officers. The article on officers may contain as many sections as there are to be officers, one section for each. It will therefore be necessary for the committee on officers to confer with the committee on the legislature to find out what powers are to be given to the legislature. For there must be officers to carry out all the laws. If money is to be collected there must be at least a treasurer and possibly a collector. There must also be a method of auditing the treasurer's accounts. There should be a president of the association, managers for each of the teams, a recording secretary and possibly a corresponding secretary. Each of these sections will provide for the election or appointment of the officer described in it. The association will probably find that better officers can be chosen through appointment than through election; but this is a matter for the committee and the members of the constitutional convention to decide. The election of the president is an important matter. Some will think that the legislature or commission should elect him so that polities may be kept out of the association. Others will think that a general election with the use of preferential ballots is a better method. Especially if the president is to appoint the other officers his election will be a very important matter.

36. Nominations and Elections. It will be well to write a separate article on the method of nominating and electing all officers who are to be chosen by election. If nominations are to be made by petition, the article will mention

the number of names a petition must contain, how long before the election the petitions must be filed, and with whom they must be filed. If elections are to be by preferential ballot, the article will describe just how the ballot is to be written; how and by whom the votes are to be counted; whether the ballots shall be preserved so that mistakes may be corrected if any occur; and how the tie shall be broken in case the leading candidates have the same number of votes.

37. The Recall. Some members may wish to have an article on the recall of officers. If a majority of the convention wish to try this experiment they will write an article providing that unsatisfactory officers may be recalled by a petition and an election. If ten or fifteen or twenty per cent of the members sign a petition demanding the recall of a certain officer, an election must be held to fill the position he holds. The name of the officer whose recall is demanded will appear on the ballot together with the names of new candidates who have been nominated by petition or by some other method of nomination that has been decided upon. If the present holder of the office wins the election he will retain his office; if not he must give way to the successful candidate.

38. The Initiative and the Referendum. Some members may ask for an article on the *initiative*, and a committee may be appointed to prepare such an article. The article may provide that whenever five or ten per cent of the members wish a certain rule made, they may write it out and present it to the legislature or commission by petition. An election must then be held to see whether the members of the association vote for the adoption of the rule. This method takes the making of this rule out of the hands of

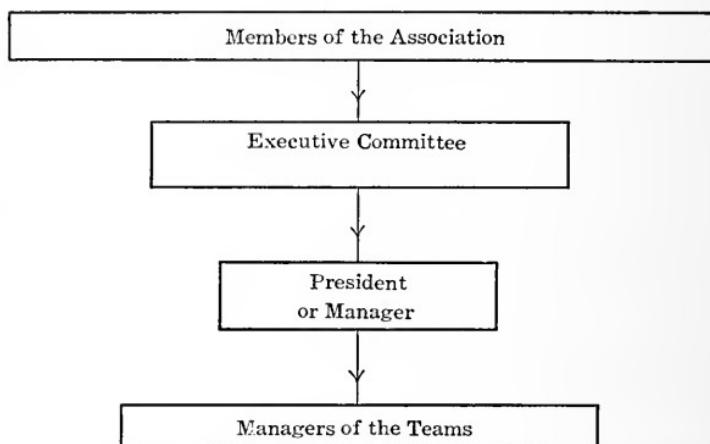
the commission or legislature. If members of the convention wish to use the *referendum*, a provision may be made that a given per cent of the members of the association may file a petition demanding that any rule made by the commission or legislature must be voted on by the association. In this way mistakes on the part of the legislators may be prevented; but the success of the arrangement depends on the willingness of all the members of the association to give a good deal of attention to making rules. Some of the members will not wish to take this trouble, and they will fear that the method gives members who have not been elected to the legislature an opportunity to make a disturbance over every rule that the legislature makes.

39. Amendment. There is no more important article in a constitution than the one which describes how the constitution itself may be amended. The committee on this subject must carefully consider two matters. First, how long shall a proposed change in the constitution be announced on the bulletin board before a vote on it is taken; second, how many votes shall be necessary to effect the change. If both of these matters are carefully considered changes in the constitution may be safely made.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. If charters are given to governments that are not independent, mention two constitutions which should be called charters.
2. If you are to have a rule that no one shall play on the base-ball team who is behind in his school work, should this rule be put in the constitution of the association? Why?
3. Ought the parliamentary rules which your association will use to be made a part of the constitution? Why?
4. If your association is to use preferential ballots in voting should this rule be put into the constitution? Why?
5. If your officers are to be nominated by petition should this rule be put in the constitution? Why?

6. Make an outline of the constitution or charter of a debating society.
7. Why is it important to give notice of a change in the constitution a week or more before a vote on it is taken?
8. Why are these chapters on the government of an athletic association placed at the beginning of a book on the government of cities and States?
9. If a pupil is a fair and useful member of a self-governing athletic association is it likely that he will be a good citizen? Why do you think this is true?
10. Mention several traits that make a pupil a good member of a self-governing athletic association.
11. Mention several traits that prevent one from being a good member of such an association.
12. If the constitution or charter of the association is so complicated that the members cannot understand it, are the members likely to be interested in the government? Why?



This diagram presents the essentials of a constitution for any association. The members elect an executive committee; this committee appoints the president; the president appoints such other officers as are necessary.

PART II

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CITIES

CHAPTER V

THE WORLD'S WORK

40. The Work of an Athletic Association. In the last three chapters we have considered the way we would organize an athletic association that it may do its work. We found that the work of such a body is simple, and that therefore its organization may also be simple. Its constitution can easily be written in a short time. There are few rules to be made; its legislature needs to meet but seldom and to hold only brief sessions. There will be few violations of its rules; it needs only a few officers if any to try those who offend. All the officers that are needed to manage the several teams and to care for the money of the association can be appointed by the president in a few days. But coöperation even on this small scale, gives useful training in self-government. The members of the association will find that they must control themselves carefully and be reasonable if the athletic affairs of the school are to be carried on without confusion and disorder. They must obey the government they form, if their work is to be done successfully.

41. The Work of the World. Now we come to the study of much more complicated and important business.—

the work of the world. In this brief chapter we shall discuss the rapid growth of this work during the last one or two hundred years; and we shall see that the increase in the work to be done has made the need of wise coöperation among inhabitants of cities and states far more important than it used to be. All of the remainder of the book treats of organization for coöperation or working together, but this chapter is particularly meant to show how much more important it is for us to have good government now than it was when our ancestors first began coming to America.

42. The World's Work in Earlier Times. Not much over a hundred years ago each family lived independently and supplied most of its own needs. It drew water from a well in the yard or from a spring near by. It used no gas or electricity, but lighted the house with home-made candles. Vegetables came from the garden and fruit from the orchard. The women of the household made the cloth for the clothes of the family, and then made the clothes. They spun the yarn and knitted the socks and gloves. Few people traveled farther than a horse could carry a man and bring him back in one day. There was no telegraph or telephone, and it took a letter a week to go to a neighboring State. People lived far apart and did not coöperate on a large scale. If each pupil stayed at home and did his class work by himself without any of the help which a school gives, his effort to get an education would be something like this old-fashioned community life.

43. The Industrial Revolution. One of the things that caused this way of living to disappear was the growth of the factory system. Industry went through a change called the Industrial Revolution. The word revolution means to

turn around like a wheel. The work of the world took a turn. Instead of each family making its own clothes, great factories sprang up to produce clothing on a large scale. Instead of each little community having a mill to grind flour, great flour mills in a few parts of the country ground all the flour. Instead of each household tanning leather and making its own shoes, great tanneries and shoe factories grew up.

44. Scientific Agriculture. The progress of the Industrial Revolution was accompanied by the improvement of farming and stock raising. By the old methods it was about as much as the people could do to supply food for the country, although most of them worked at producing food. But with improved plows and harvesting machines, and with careful selection of seed and fertilizer, it was soon possible for a few people to raise enough food for all. This made it possible for many of the people who had lived on farms to move to the towns and work in the factories, producing many luxuries which the world had not had before, or which only a few people in the world had enjoyed. Pianos, books, newspapers, furniture, watches, convenient cooking utensils, means of travel, and many other things came to the world because the farmer managed his business so well that a few of the people could raise enough food for all, while others could go into the factories to provide more of other necessities and luxuries.

45. Rapid Transportation. Among the things that came with this great revolution was rapid transportation. The steam engine applied steam power to pulling cars over steel rails. This brought places close together, for places are far apart only when it takes a long time to get from one to the other. Such rapid transportation helped the growth

of the factory system and made foods cheap. The great wheat fields of the West can produce food much more cheaply than can the farms of the East. This means that more and more men could be released from the wheat fields to go into other work. It became possible for the whole country to use coal for fuel, and thus save the wood and the time it takes to handle it. It became possible for us to have fruits from all parts of the world at low prices. Rapid transportation has brought the whole world so close together that it is like one large family.

46. Printing and Communication. The day The World War ended the people all over the world read the news at about the same time. The telegraph, telephone, and wireless, have overcome space; and we all live as if in one house. Since we hear the same news and think about the same things, we come to think the same thoughts and so can live under the same government. In ancient times people of different countries or even different villages hated those who lived a short distance away because they did not know them. Now the newspaper brings even to the poorest family interesting accounts of all peoples, so that we know more about Europe than our ancestors knew about the next State.

47. Density of Population. This revolution in agriculture and transportation has provided ample food; there are no more famines in our part of the world. Our lives have been made comfortable; disease has been reduced; and, since we know our neighbors better, fewer wars are likely. Because of all these things the population of the world is growing rapidly. Great cities with millions of people have arisen where mere villages were. But the whole country is also filling up, and lines between settlements are disap-

pearing. Even the boundary lines between countries are becoming very dim.

48. World Coöperation. All the people of the world are working together. We have what is called division of labor. One man is a teacher who helps to educate the children of other people. The next one you meet is possibly a clergyman and the next a lawyer. All of us would starve if there were not also men who grow wheat and others who raise cattle or hogs. In the city, one man runs the telephone system, another the car line, another the theater, each giving something of what we all need. But the city would starve, and the farmer would fail for lack of machinery, if it were not for the railroad man who runs the trains through the night and the storm at terrifying speed in order to get the meat and wheat to the city and to return to the farm with the machinery and the clothes. How does the farmer know how much food to send to a city; and how does the manufacturer know how much machinery to make? Are these simple questions? They are answered by the business man. Many of us do not know what he does, but he is to business what the general is to the army. The general sits far back of the line with maps and telephones; and he plans the whole campaign, so that all bodies of troops move smoothly. The people of the world are a great army working together against hunger, thirst, cold, disease, and ignorance. All of us are doing our part, and all of us are receiving the necessities of life. Some receive more than this, but all of us have more than we should have but for this great system of helpfulness.

49. Government. Now what has government to do with it all? Government is to all of this coöperation what the organization of our athletic association is to the work of

our teams. The old-fashioned government had but little to do because people were not dependent on each other. Some people could be careless and lazy without causing others to suffer. Each family was dependent on itself alone. Now no one can be useless without causing suffering to others. If the milkman is careless or dishonest we are in danger of disease; if the railroad man is careless or dishonest we cannot travel safely. So with all the things we use and the comforts we have; we are dependent on others for them. Most of the others are willing to do their best; but there are always a few who wish to shirk. For these few it is necessary to have laws and officers. In order to have these laws and officers, we must organize a government and write constitutions and charters. This book is about the methods of doing these things through self-government.

50. Doing our Part in Politics. We must make the world safe for democracy, but we can do our part in nothing if we are not trained to understand how we should do it. All of us want to play the game of life as well as we can. Let us therefore see what government does and how it does it so that we may know our own duty towards our part of the work of the world. Let us train ourselves in self-government. Only by doing so can we help to keep democracy from failing.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make a list of the people who help to produce the bread you eat. Where is the wheat raised? Where is it ground? Where cooked?
2. Where is your meat raised? Where slaughtered? Who sells it to you?
3. Where is the wool or cotton for your clothes raised? Where is the cloth manufactured? Where are the clothes made?

4. Where was the material for your house produced? The nails? The plaster? How many different kind of workmen helped to build it?

5. Draw a map of the railroads that come into your town. Where do they come from? What freight do they bring?

6. What industries are to be found in your town? Are their products used in the town or shipped away to other places?

7. What forms of communication help to carry on this business?

8. How many nationalities are represented in your town? Why did these people come there?

9. How much of the goods that you use do you or your family produce?

10. Do you exchange the things you produce for the things other people make, or do you use money to help the trading by making it convenient?

11. Could you have more or less goods if you tried to produce all that you use, or can you have more by coöperating with other people?

12. Suppose the railroads stopped running for a month what effect would it have on your comfort and happiness?

13. How do the newspapers in your town get the news they print?

14. Among the things you use which come from foreign countries? What countries do they come from, and by what routes?

15. How much of this business could be done if there were no government to make travel safe and to require people to trade honestly?

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CHAPTER VI

THE CITY

51. What is a City? A city is a place where a large number of people live so close together that they must depend upon each other for their health and happiness; a place where people can coöperate in having many things which they could not have without coöperation. This is a definition of a large village or a borough as well as of a city. Therefore when we discuss the government of cities we are also discussing that of villages and boroughs. In some States a community is not called a city unless it has five or ten thousand people. In others it must have a particular kind of government to be called a city. But for our purposes we may speak of any crowded place where people live permanently as a city. Our task is to find out something about the government in such a place, which brings health, comforts, and peace to those who live there.

52. Where do Cities Grow? Examine a map of the United States and see where the great cities are located. New York is at the mouth of the Hudson River; Philadelphia on the Delaware; San Francisco at a great harbor of the Pacific Coast; New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi; Chicago is a great lake port; St. Louis is a great Mississippi port. Examine the location of other cities and you will find that many of them are situated at places where trading is easy. Pittsburgh is in the midst of the great coal and iron district. Washington is the National Capital, and

people are drawn there because of this fact. Let us examine the causes which make cities grow.

53. Cities and Farming. We have seen that scientific farming has made it possible for many people to leave the farm and go into other business. Suppose that a man who lives in the country has five sons. A hundred years ago all of these sons would have found work on the farm. To plant crops many men were needed. Now one plants with a machine. Formerly, to harvest the crop many men were also needed; now one machine does the work of ten men. Therefore one of the farmer's sons may become a lawyer and go to the city; another may become a professor and also go to the city; still another may become a railroad man and make his home in the city near the end of his line. All of his sons but one or two are likely to leave the farm; and his daughters may marry men who also go to the city as their brothers did.

54. Cities and Manufacturing. The man who runs a factory has three problems; first, workmen; second, raw materials to use in his factory; and, third, a way of bringing the raw material in and sending his product out. Near a city he finds the people whom he wishes to employ. They come because the factories are there to give them employment and because they can find many other attractive things such as schools, theaters, and the like. The people attract more factories, and the factories more people, to these centers. Cities grow where steamers and railroads bring freight and carry it away. Or they grow where fuel is plentiful, or in more recent times where electric power is cheap.

55. Cities and Commerce. Such cities as Indianapolis grow up where railroad lines cross, and therefore where

shipping is convenient. To all cities come men engaged in the advertising business; in the wholesale business, that is in buying from the manufacturer and distributing to the retail stores; in financial occupations such as banking and lending money. To supply the needs of these people come laundrymen, cobblers, retail shops, tailors, barbers, carpenters, plumbers, plasterers, and all the trades and professions which supply the luxuries we can now have since so many people are released from the need of producing mere food, clothes, and fuel.

56. Cities and Culture. When all of these people live together in a small space, it is possible for them to provide many things besides the necessities of life. Some may make a living by running a good theater, for there are many people to visit it every day. Libraries can be kept up with small expense to each person; so can museums, parks, tennis courts, bathing beaches, and all the dozens of good things which people living in sparsely settled communities cannot afford to have. Schools are easily reached by a large number of children; even colleges can be supported at the public expense. The city can supply almost every comfort to its people if each gives to the community a fair day's work as his part. The well-run city is a fine place in which to live. Every resident can have luxuries which rich and powerful men a hundred years ago could not obtain. But all of this is the result of industry on the part of every man and woman, and of wise coöperation in managing the resources of the community. If we have neighbors in a city who refuse to do their part, all of us share the loss that results from their failure.

57. City Government. When we studied the government of our athletic association we saw that organization

was necessary. We saw that good management requires three things; first, that our representatives make rules; second, that we appoint officers to take charge of certain parts of the work; and third, that we help these officers to do the work assigned to them. The same thing is true of the city; but the work of the city is far more complicated and difficult than that of the association. If the people of a city do as they please, then we have anarchy, confusion, and distress, just as we should have failure in an association if it were not organized. Therefore every city has a government with rules or laws, and rulers who require that these laws be obeyed. It is difficult, sometimes, for young people to see the need of obeying law; but if they practise self-government while they are in school, they will be the better able in later years to help to save their city from disorder and distress.

58. City Charters. We have seen that a charter and a constitution are almost the same thing. The charter of a city describes the officers the city needs, their powers, and their duties. It tells how these officers shall be elected, the term of office for each, and the method of removing them. It also tells how ordinances shall be made, how money shall be raised to pay the expenses of the government, and all other things necessary to create a well organized and efficient government for a large number of people. The charter is sometimes made by the State legislature, and sometimes by the people of the city in a charter convention such as you held for the constitution of your association. Those who believe in what is called home rule think the people of the city should make their own charter in a convention; but there are many States in which the legislatures have not yet given the cities the right to do this.

59. The Work of the City. In the next nine chapters is a discussion of the work of a city. This discussion is for the purpose of showing how difficult such a government is and how many officers are needed for it. After we have learned what a city has to do, we shall then learn something about the way certain cities have organized their governments to do this work. It will not be useful to study the work of these cities unless we do it thoughtfully. We must remember that the facts are not important unless we know why we learn them. For the work of cities is changing all the time. Any city may begin to do some new kind of work at any time, and may stop doing some that it now does. We do not study these kinds of work merely for their own sake, but also for the purpose of seeing how such a great body of people coöperates, and therefore why it is necessary for it to organize.

60. Our Own City. To study the government of our own city gives us the best practice in this subject. All that any city does, our city may plan to do. All the good things that other places have we may have. The best government is none too good for us. Let us therefore examine our city carefully. Why was it located where it is? What industries have helped it to grow? What commerce is important to it? What lines of trade pass through it? What coöperation do we undertake that makes the city a better place to live in? Is this coöperation in the hands of the most experienced and trained people that we can get? Is the work done as well as it can be done?

61. Writing a Charter for our City. We shall find it an interesting and useful class exercise to write a charter for our city. To do this the class will organize itself into a convention just as it would if it were to write a consti-

tution. The necessary officers, such as a chairman and secretary, will be elected, and strict parliamentary law will be enforced in order that time may be spent economically and that the debates may be orderly. The nine chapters which follow this one should be read and some committees appointed to study different kinds of city work. Each committee will then report on the kind of organization which it thinks is necessary. Either these same committees or others appointed later will write articles for the charter: one on methods of legislation, one on officers, one on nominations and elections, one on taxation and a budget, and so on through the list of articles into which the convention thinks the charter should be divided. Members of the convention will find it helpful to read as much of the present charter of our city as possible in order to see whether they agree that the present is the best arrangement they can find. It would be well for them to remember, however, that the present city charter was written by experienced men and that therefore it may be a much better one than the class convention could write however long it might study the subject.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Why do you live in a city rather than in the country?
2. What do you have in the city that you would not have in the country?
3. Draw a map of your state showing the location of your city, and the railroads and large rivers near it.
4. Try to find out how your city came to be located where it is?
5. What industries or trades cause the prosperity of your city?
6. Make a list of ten of your friends and find out why their families came to the city instead of living in the country?
7. How many people live in your city? How much more difficult is it to organize a government for so many than for the small number in your athletic association?

8. Do you feel that the city belongs to you and that you are responsible for its welfare? If not, why do you not feel so?
9. How can *you* help to make the city a still better place to live in so that more people will come to it?
10. Make a list of city officers who are protecting you every day from danger or inconvenience.
11. If you have any friends in the country, make a list of the distances they have to travel to school, to the theater, to church, to visit their friends.
12. We saw that an athletic association would not be successful unless most of the members helped the officers to make it so. Do the people in your city help the officers to make its government a success? How do they do this?
13. Do you know any people who spend more time complaining than they do helping? Are these people very useful to the city?

CHAPTER VII

SOME PUBLIC UTILITIES

62. Public Utilities. This chapter contains a discussion of several of the simplest public utilities such as water and light. There are certain services which every family must have and which all can have much more cheaply and conveniently by coöperation than by individual effort. In old times most of these services were procured without mutual helpfulness, and some are still obtained in this old-fashioned way. When each family obtained water from a separate spring or well there was always danger that the supply might be impure or that it might fail in dry weather; moreover, the well was expensive and constant work was necessary to bring the water into the house. In those days, too, each home was lighted by lamps or candles, which involved danger from fire and much labor in caring for the vessels. Most families still have separate heating plants. Taking care of these separate heating plants is an expensive task in time or money, for wood or coal must be hauled to many separate homes and ashes must be carried away. Individual heating involves difficulty in keeping the house clean and also danger from fire. How much cheaper and better it would be to practise coöperation in this service!

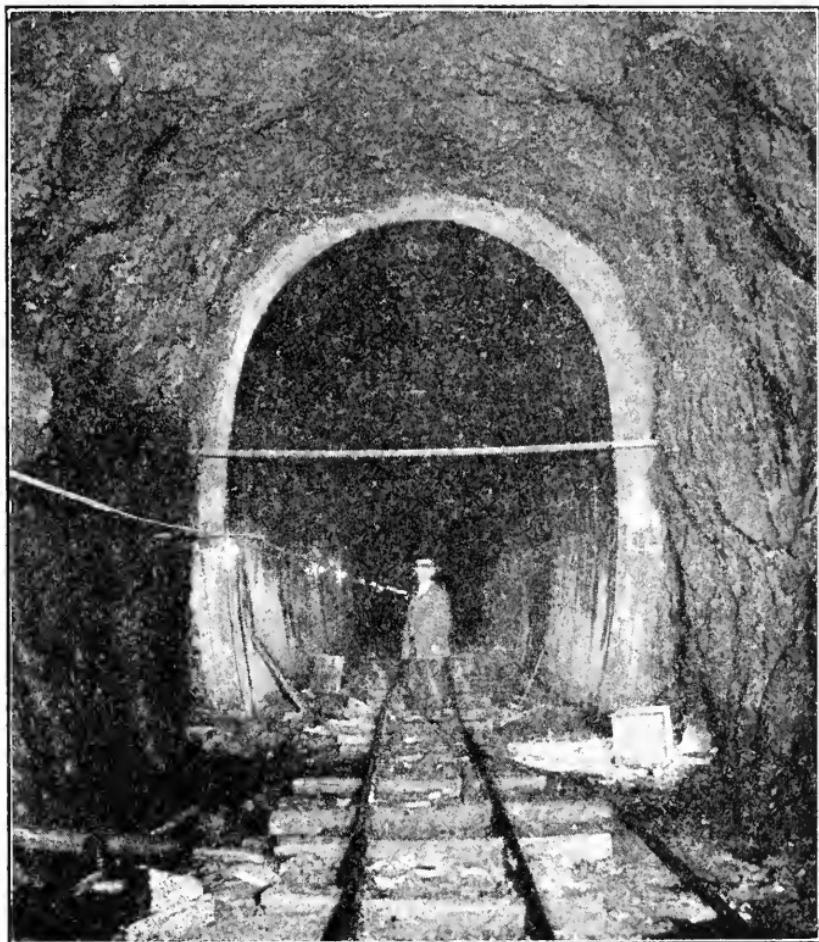
63. The Modern City. Many utilities are now supplied in the modern city with so little work on the part of the householder that we scarcely appreciate the burdens which our ancestors endured. A small suburb of Philadelphia

gives an admirable illustration of coöperation. An ample supply of good water is piped to every house. Gas, electricity, and steam are supplied from central plants. No resident is permitted to use fuel which fills the air with smoke and the streets with ashes. The work of the housekeepers is made simple and pleasant; the labor of men in hauling fuel and ashes is greatly reduced; and the little city is a delightful place to live in because of the wisdom of its administration.

64. Need of Efficient Government. But such coöperation cannot be had without two conditions. These are, first, intelligent citizens who will support their government; and, second, a well organized government which will secure expert officials and give them power to make and enforce good laws. Every city has some inhabitants who are short-sighted and unwilling to coöperate with their neighbors. A few always prove unwilling to work with the others. They insist on having things separately, or on getting more than their fair share of what the city has to give. For such people, a government with a strong hand is necessary; and the hand of government cannot be strong unless a majority of the citizens support it against those who object and hold back. The remainder of this chapter tells about some of the difficulties such a government has to deal with in order to show why expert and experienced officers are needed.

65. A Brief Account. After reading the chapter do not think that you know everything about the means of supplying these utilities to a city. This is only a superficial account; that is, only a few things on the surface of the subject are spoken of. The object is, not to show how the work should be done, but to show how necessary it is to have able men to do it. Some cities which do not recog-

nize the need of experienced public servants change officers so frequently that no well planned work can be done. They seem to think that the administration of a great water sys-



The Aqueduct under Manhattan.

tem is as safe in the hands of inexperienced people as in those of people who have given a lifetime to the study of the difficulties in the way of getting good water.

66. A Water Supply. When a great number of people

live in one place, as in a city, they need so much water that it is a difficult problem to find a supply large enough for them. The water must be free from germs of disease and from hurtful chemicals such as lime. Some cities use a hundred gallons of water a day for each resident,—man, woman or child. Of course each person does not use so much as this, but that used by the street cleaning and fire departments, and the factories and other large undertakings helps to make up this average. If several cities are near together it is sometimes a matter of discussion between their governments how the supply of water shall be divided. Look at a map of eastern Massachusetts and see how near the cities are to each other. It is clear that there must be rivalry between these cities for a supply of pure water from the hills. If a city must take river or lake water it must employ scientists who know how to filter and purify the supply, else there is constant danger from disease.

67. Light. Some private houses maintain their own electric and gas plants, but to run these separate plants is expensive. For service of this sort the larger the plant the more cheaply the product can be furnished, for fewer people are needed to care for one large plant than for many small ones. But unless coöperation is under the control of skilful and efficient persons the light is sometimes so poor and the service so wasteful that it pays the private citizen to supply his own needs. The same statement is true of steam for heating purposes. Coöperation presents at the very beginning two great problems which we have not yet found a way to solve satisfactorily. The first of these is, shall the city own or merely control the means of supplying these utilities? The second is, What price shall be charged for the service?

68. Monopoly Control. For our discussion of this problem of control let us use the water supply as an illustration. What is said of this utility may be almost as well said of the supply of gas and electricity. Suppose two companies were furnishing water to people in the same street. It would be necessary for both companies to pipe the streets. Each would also have to find a supply of surface water or maintain pumping stations. Some people think that this competition would reduce the price to the citizen. But it is clear that the work would cost two companies almost twice as much as it would cost one. The companies have to make a profit in addition to their expenses. Therefore the users would have to pay the cost of two lines of pipes and a profit to two companies. It is not difficult to see that one company can supply water more cheaply than two or three can. Monopoly means control without any competition. "But," the citizen says, "if there is only one company supplying water, that one will charge as much as it pleases; and of course it will please to charge a very high price."

69. Municipal Ownership or Control. It is clear that we cannot let a private company supply water to the city and charge as much as it likes. Some people think the city itself should supply it, and many cities do so. The city government borrows money through selling bonds to build a great water system. It then supplies the water and either charges each user in proportion to the amount used, or pays the interest on the bonds from taxes. Other cities prefer to have private companies supply the water, one company controlling the whole supply. In order to keep down the price under such an arrangement the city must have a contract with the company which limits the price to the citizen. Those who prefer this plan believe that private

management can get work done more cheaply and efficiently than the city can, and that a private company can make some money by efficient management even when it charges no more for the water than the city would charge. They hold this opinion because they believe we cannot get efficient public servants.

70. The Price. What shall be the price of the water? Service of this sort must be paid for by some one. If the city sells bonds to build the plant, interest must be paid to the bondholders, and provision must be made for gradually paying the principal of the bonds. In other words, a gallon of water will cost about the same price whether the city or a private company gives the service. If the private company does the work the price will be what it costs the company plus a profit; if the officers of the city do it the price will be what it costs without this profit but with the added expense of inefficient management if the officers are not carefully selected. There is no more difficult problem in city government than that of determining what the price should be. In those places where private service is used officers are sometimes appointed whose only duty it is to study the management of the system and report to the government what price the company should charge. If the city owns and runs the plant, what should the price be? Should the government charge enough to make money out of the service? If it does, the citizen who uses the water pays this money into the city treasury. Should the government supply the water at less than cost? If it does, the city must make up the difference; and to do this the citizen must pay higher taxes so that the government will have enough money for this expense. The cost must be paid by the citizen either in taxes or in water rent.

71. **One Authority over all Public Service.** A study of coöperation among the departments which supply public utilities shows very plainly the need of a well organized city government. These departments must all use the streets, and thus must coöperate with the officers who build, clean, and repair the pavements. Suppose the gas or water supply is not under the same control as is the building of streets. The paving officers prepare to lay down a new surface without knowing what are the plans for laying new pipes. The pavement may have scarcely been completed before it must be broken up for a new water main. As soon as the street has been repaired the gas department may insist that it needs some new under-ground connections. It is easy to see that all of these utilities must be under one head, such as a general manager, who will see that the several departments coöperate.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Where does your family get its water supply?
2. If it is piped in through the streets, where does it come from?
3. How do you know it is pure? Free from minerals, such as lime?
4. How much do you have to pay for it? What would it cost to dig a well for your house? How much work would you have to do pumping and carrying water?
5. How does the city keep people from wasting the water?
6. Who appoints the people who look after the water supply?
7. How is your house lighted? Do you use gas in your house?
8. Is the gas supplied by the city or by a private company?
9. Who decides how much the gas shall cost? Is the supply good?
10. Do you think that those who look after the water and gas should be elected or appointed?
11. Do you think new people should be appointed for this work whenever the city government changes from one party to the other?

12. Do you think that the person at the head of each of these departments should be appointed by the head of the city government so that he could require them to work together? Why?

13. Are other cities so near to yours that both might want to use the same water supply? If so, how do they divide it?

14. When a new street is built, how may the water company be permitted to tear it up to put in new water pipes?

15. How do you think the management of the water and light for your city could be improved?

16. If you wish to improve this service how would you set about doing it?

CHAPTER VIII

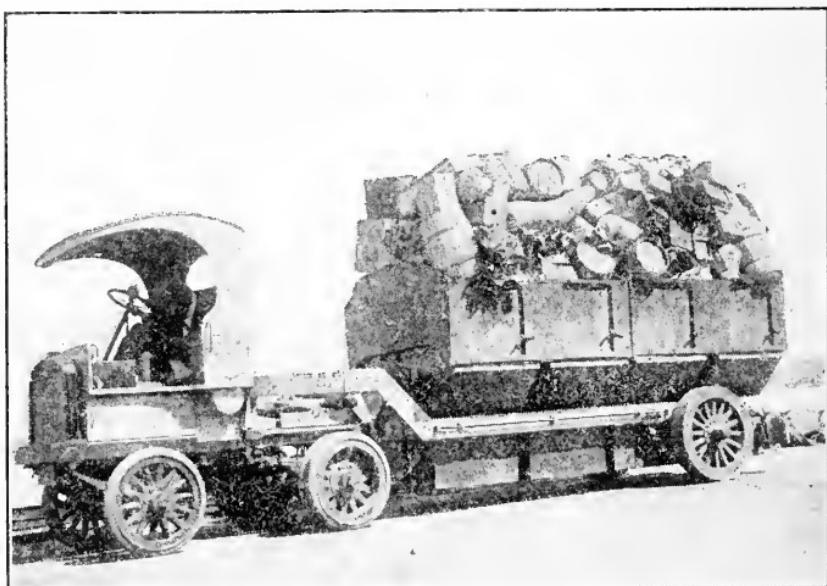
THE DISPOSAL OF WASTE

72. Waste in the Country. In the country or the small village the disposal of waste is a simple matter. Ashes may be buried in the ground, or if they are from coal they may be used in making walks and roads. Much of the garbage may be fed to chickens or pigs. There are places where such rubbish as paper, empty boxes, and the like may safely be burned. Much of the material commonly called sewage may be used as fertilizer; and when not so used it may be buried in the ground without danger to health or comfort. Dead animals may be buried in the fields. Where land is plentiful all sorts of things may be hidden in it, often with benefit to its fertility. Homes are far enough apart for each family to care for the disposal of its own waste as it wishes without danger to the community. Therefore but little coöperation is necessary.

73. The Waste Problem in the City. In the large village or city all these conditions are different. There are no pigs or chickens to eat the garbage; there are no gardens in which to bury sewage or ashes; it is dangerous to build fires to burn rubbish, and the police should not permit it. Every foot of land is valuable, and almost all of it is in constant use. Yet many hundreds of pounds of this waste material must be disposed of for every inhabitant. The health and comfort as well as the beauty of the community require that it be removed promptly. If it is left even for

a few days, the danger from disease or from fires will arise.

74. Coöperation is Necessary. It is out of the question to depend on private families to do this work. There must be public officers to attend to it; and there must be a law requiring all citizens to coöperate in aiding the officers. A



A model way to remove rubbish from a community.

few careless people may endanger the health of a whole city; the rubbish of a few families may ruin the appearance of a whole street. It would also be extravagant for each family to try to have this work done separately, for it would cost several times as much as to have it done through coöperation. Few communities, if any, attempt any other sort of management of this problem than that of public service. In fact, Europeans sometimes criticise us because, as they say, our cities always coöperate in doing for the people those things which are expensive for the citizens to

do for themselves, but give to private corporations the right to do the things which are profitable, such as the management of gas and electric plants.

75. The Street Cleaning Department. Most cities have a department of street cleaning which attends to much of this work. It sweeps the streets, into which careless people



A "White Wing" and his apparatus.

throw many kinds of waste, and removes from in front of houses boxes of rubbish which are put out at regular times to be taken away. This task is made much more difficult in some neighborhoods by people who do not understand that the tax-payer must pay for the collection of newspapers and other trash which they throw into the street. In New York the city government has appointed children to watch such people and require them to pick up the rubbish they thus throw about. These "block captains," as they are called,

have done much good and have saved much money for the city. The street cleaning department in some cities also removes ashes. Now and then a contractor makes two profits when he is permitted to do this part of the work. He is paid once for hauling the ashes away and again for making a fill with them, just as if he had found the material for the fill himself. To save the city from this kind of extravagance requires constant attention on the part of public officers.

76. The Disposal of Garbage. This subject and the others which we are discussing in this chapter are mentioned not because we can give any idea here of the way the work should be done, but only to show how important and difficult the work of city government is; and therefore how important it is to secure trained men with experience and to pay them well for their tasks. Garbage consists mainly of waste from kitchens, and it can often be disposed of in such a way as to bring an income to the city, or at least to pay all the costs of its disposal. Most of it contains grease or oil, and these may be pressed out and used for axle grease or soap. Other parts of it, such as vegetable matter, may be fed to hogs; and some cities have large ranches on which hogs are fattened for profit. But either the places for making soap or the ranches are disagreeable neighbors, and it is not an easy matter to find location for them near a city without causing a protest from the people who live near by. Another method of disposal is to burn the garbage, using the rubbish collected by the street cleaning department as fuel. This entire program requires the finest planning and administration. Therefore it cannot be economically attended to except by experts who are willing and able to give it careful study. They must know the local

conditions and must also learn the experience of other cities.

77. The Disposal of Sewage. Disposal of sewage is a much more difficult problem than either street cleaning or the removal of garbage. Sewage consists of waste from the human body, offal from slaughter houses, laundries, and similar establishments. Great quantities of it must be carried away every day; and it cannot be left above ground at all if the health and comfort of the city is to be cared for. Sewage is carried away by water through sewer pipes. We have seen that a city handles daily something like a hundred gallons of water for each inhabitant. This means that great quantities of water filled with disease-laden matter must be disposed of. If the city has one hundred thousand inhabitants, nearly ten million gallons of this water flows through its pipes every twenty-four hours. This sewage must find some outlet, but there are not many places near a city where it can be discharged without danger. One may safely say that the city government has no problem which tests its efficiency more fully than does the disposal of its sewage.

78. Discharging Sewage into Waters. So long as cities were far apart it was thought proper to let sewer pipes empty into rivers or into the ocean. One great city for a long time used the head waters of the Mississippi river for this purpose; but the cities further down the stream complained bitterly. Their complaint, however, was not heard with much patience, for many of them were guilty of doing the same thing. There are few cities on great water-ways which have not at some time in their history used this method. New York and other cities on the ocean front discharged their sewage into the ocean, as it was

supposed, far enough from the land to avoid danger. But it was found that the oyster beds were injured by it, and many people avoided the bathing beaches because of the refuse which floated near the shore.

79. Sewage as Fertilizer. Some progressive cities in this country and in Europe maintain what are called sewage farms. Large tracts of land are procured some distance from the city limits. The sewage is carried to the farm by pipes and is distributed over the farm by a system of ditches. The land becomes fertile and produces large quantities of forage crops and fruits. Even desert land may be thus treated for there is constant irrigation. In the winter, when the land is frozen the sewage is stored in tanks until it is possible to use it. Such a plan may at first seem foolish because we have in America such great quantities of fertile farm land. But as our country becomes more thickly settled it may be that we shall find it a useful undertaking. One difficulty in the way of trying it is the great cost at the beginning. Land must be bought and a plant erected with a large outlay of money as an experiment. Few of our cities are willing to plan as many years in advance as this kind of an undertaking requires. Later we may manage our cities on a more business-like basis than we do now.

80. Other Methods. Another method of getting rid of sewage is to separate it from the water, and then to dispose of the solid matter in some sanitary way. One way is to use what are called septic tanks. The sewage is discharged into enormous tanks and either treated with chemicals or allowed to rot. If there are enough tanks some of them may be left closed for a long time while others are being filled. The contents of those which are closed rot and

disappear. The main cost of such a system is the first building of the tanks, which is considerable. It is said that some of the methods of separating the waste from the water which flows from such tanks are so scientific and complete that the out-flowing water is pure enough for drinking purposes. Most of us, however, would be prejudiced against such a supply, and it is nowhere so used. The argument is made merely to show that it is safe for such water to run away through the ordinary streams.

81. Allied Problems. At least two allied problems may be mentioned here. One is related to the organization of the city government. It is clear that the whole government should be under one head, for leadership is necessary in such large undertakings to bring about coöperation among the departments having charge of the finances of the city, the building and repair of streets, and the disposal of waste, so that all will work together without friction or loss of energy. The other is a matter of coöperation between cities. As the country becomes more and more densely populated, and as cities grow up closer together, space for all of these undertakings becomes more and more limited. Even where cities have home rule they cannot be permitted perfect freedom in the use of the neighboring land. It will be necessary for the government of the State to aid them with its authority in their coöperation.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Are the streets of your city as clean as you would like them to be? If not, what do you think is the reason?
2. Whose duty is it to keep your streets clean?
3. Who appoints these people?
4. Are they appointed because they know a good deal about street cleaning, or because they help the party to win elections?

5. Are your street cleaners protected in their positions by civil service rules?
6. How is the garbage from your house taken away? What is done with it?
7. Does the city pay for its removal? If so, how much?
8. Has any effort been made in your city to use the garbage for any useful purpose, such as feeding hogs?
9. How is the sewage carried from your city?
10. Who appoints those who have charge of the removal of garbage and sewage?
11. Does the head of the city government control all of these people so that the different kinds of work may be coördinated?
12. Are there any other cities near yours which might object to the way you dispose of your sewage or garbage?
13. Do the policemen of your city have anything to do with seeing that the streets are kept free from garbage and rubbish?
14. Do you yourself try to keep from throwing paper and other rubbish into the streets.
15. If a friend of yours threw a paper in the street why would you call his attention politely to the fact that the city has to pay for cleaning the streets and that you have to help the other citizens pay the expense to which this puts the city?

CHAPTER IX

PROTECTION FROM FIRE AND DISORDER

82. Danger from Fire. In the country it is not necessary for people to coöperate in protecting themselves from fire. Fire cannot spread from house to house, and therefore one house is not endangered by carelessness in the next. But in the city the carelessness of one family may destroy a hundred homes. In America we permit great quantities of property to be destroyed by fire. We have three times



as much loss from this cause, in proportion to the number of people, as France has; and five times as much as England. New York and London may be compared. London has about as many people as New York; it employs only about half as many firemen; yet it has only about one-fifth as much fire loss as New York. This is not because of the inefficiency of the New York firemen; for they are among the most skilful and courageous in the world. It is because of our bad in-

surance management, and our neglect of the science of fire prevention.

83. Fire Insurance. Many people do not understand the relation of fire insurance to the loss of property. When there is a fire such people say "Oh well, the loss was covered by insurance; there was not much harm done." They do not seem to realize that the community has lost a house, or a lot of furniture, or some other valuable things. The community has had a serious loss even if the person whose property was burned is fully paid for it by the other people in the community through an insurance company. If my house is burned and if twenty people including myself form the company which pays the insurance, the other nineteen pay for my house. The next house that burns, we all help to pay for. Therefore insurance risks or insurance rates, as they are called, rise with the number of fires. Some one always bears the loss.

84. Careless Agents. It has been the custom in America for insurance companies to employ agents and give them a commission on all the insurance they sell. It is therefore to the interest of the agent to get people to insure their property for as large sums as possible. It is the duty of the agent to see that the insurance is not too high, but he gets nothing for doing this part of his duty. Some dishonest agents have therefore insured worthless property for sums so large as to tempt dishonest owners to burn it for the sake of the insurance. The company often pays the insurance without carefully investigating the cause of the fire. Such conduct increases our fire insurance rates; and all of us have to pay for the work of these careless agents and these dishonest property owners.

85. Fire Prevention. In all matters of this kind an

ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. A thousand dollars spent in fire-prevention is worth many thousands spent in rebuilding or even in fire-fighting after the blaze has started. The first step in fire prevention is suggested in the last paragraph. Let us be more careful with our

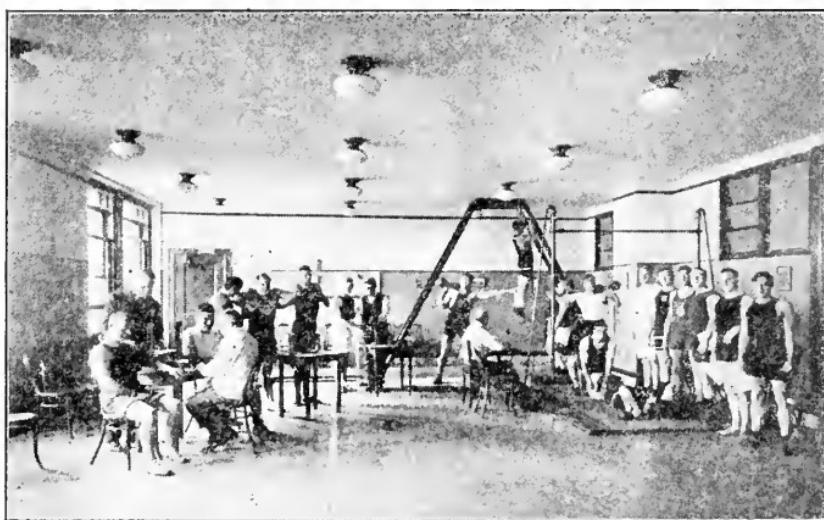


An excellent place to start a costly fire.

insurance. But we must also educate people in the care of their property. Many poor people work so hard all of the time that they have no energy left to take care of things at home. They allow rubbish to collect in the cellars and alley-ways. They let the children play with matches and start fires with oil. They permit foolish boys to smoke cigarettes about the house where they are almost certain to drop fire into some dangerous place. But the poor people are not the only careless ones. Factory owners fail to

install sprinkler systems. These are lines of pipes through the upper part of rooms where fire might occur. These pipes have places in them which will melt with a very small amount of heat; and when they melt the water rushes out wetting everything below them.

86. Volunteer and Expert Firemen. When the people in cities first began to coöperate in fighting fire they



Making a competitive physical test for firemen

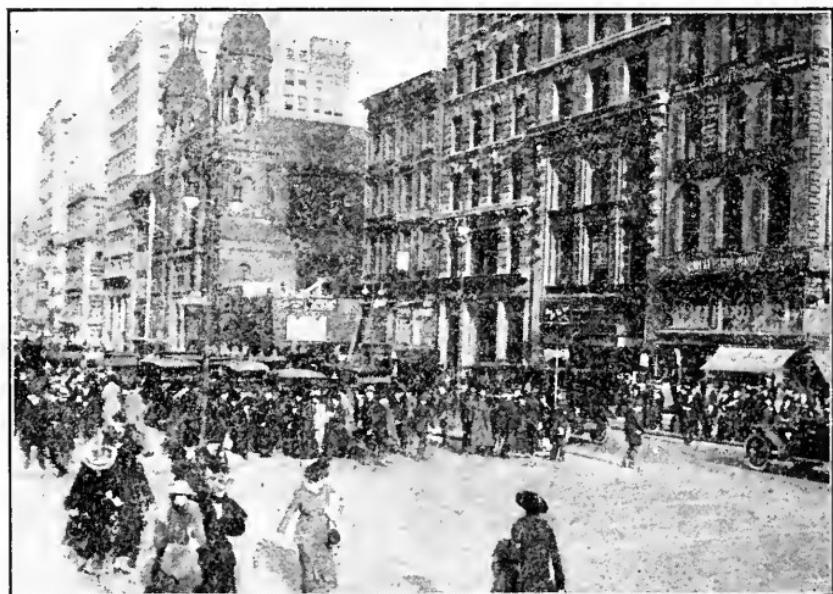
depended on volunteer companies. These firemen meant well, but like most volunteer workers they were often so inefficient that they became the subject of newspaper jokes. The members never knew where their equipment was; they were always away from home when the fire call came; they were not in proper training to stand the strain of real fire-fighting. But the volunteer companies were better than none; they did much good; and they led the way to the creation of the fire companies of to-day, which contain as large a proportion of heroes as any body of men in the

world. They are trained experts, ready to rush to a fire on an instant's notice, and more than ready to plunge into the most dangerous places to save life or even property. They are kept in good physical condition and are a subject of pride to all citizens who know their work.

87. The Fire Department. The head of the fire department is generally appointed by the head of the city government. In the department are two main divisions; that of fire prevention and that of fire-fighting. Both of these are manned by trained persons, and both should have the most modern equipment. Every pupil should visit a fire house and see how well equipped his city is for saving life and property from such danger. He should also, if possible, visit the fire prevention bureau and see the means it has of educating the public in the need of guarding against fires, and the way of avoiding danger.

88. Policemen. The policeman protects us from other dangers just as the fireman protects us from fire. He has many different duties,—so many that he has to be given the general name "police," which means city officer or public officer. He is a sort of walking bureau of information, as well as protector of the weak. He stands on the street corner and directs the traffic so that there will be no confusion; he helps feeble persons to cross the street; he restores lost children to their homes; he prevents disorder when there is excitement as, for example, from a cry of fire; he arrests persons who are violating the laws to safeguard health. In fact, he looks after the welfare of the city, much as the owner of an estate would look after his property. These officers, like the firemen, are of recent origin. There had been no organized volunteer system, and when the policeman first appeared in uniform ignorant people were

prejudiced against them. When disorder occurred these ignorant people took the side of the criminal or the disorderly person against the officer. This was because they did not understand the duty of the policeman who is a servant of the community.



A policeman controlling traffic at a busy corner.

89. Prevention of Crime. Just as one important duty of the fire department is to prevent fires, so one important duty of the police department is to prevent crime or disorder. In each case this work of the officers is quiet and attracts but little attention. We become enthusiastic about the heroic fireman or policeman who saves a life or captures a criminal; but the expert members of these departments, who work quietly, deserve just as much of our admiration. It would be impossible for the policemen to watch all of the property of a city. They therefore watch

the criminals instead. Some foreign countries do this better than we do, for they require every person in the city to be registered. If one has a guest or if a hotel receives a lodger in such a city, the stranger must at once be reported to the police. Here in America the policemen must depend on their own ingenuity, and so their task is much more difficult. They become skilful in judging a stranger who arrives by train, and they are often able to report the arrival of a criminal as soon as he leaves his train. They record the history of such people. When they detect them in crime they photograph them, and take their finger prints. These records are kept at the police station.

90. Certainty of Punishment. Young people often think it easy to violate the law and escape punishment, and they sometimes are able to do so once or twice. Such young persons are treated by the police as foolish children who do not know how serious their conduct is. But the habitual criminal is certain to spend a large part of his time in prisons, and much of the remainder of it in running away from officers. The face of the criminal advertises his business; the companions he is obliged to associate with show the kind of person he is; the fact that he does no work causes questions to be asked. The police where he lives hear these questions and rumors and begin to watch him. Then he is already on his way to prison.

91. Coöperation. The criminal might be called an outlaw, because he is outside of the law which we have made for ourselves in order that our community may be a happy one. But many of us fail to understand the plan of our coöperation; we suspect our servants of being our rulers. Possibly it would be better to say that we suspect our older brothers, the policemen and firemen, as if they were our enemies. We

do not do our part in making their work as easy as possible. If we did our part, we could get along with fewer officers of this sort, thus saving the community money and permitting the unnecessary officers to serve the community in some other way. The way some of us oppose those who guard our safety is as unwise as would be the conduct of a member of our athletic association who tried to defeat our own football team. Now and then an unfair member almost does this when he tempts a player to break training in season. What do we think of a fellow pupil who thus fails to support the association?

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. How is your house protected from fire?
2. How far are you from the nearest fire house?
3. Visit the fire house and write an account of its equipment.
4. Who is the officer in your city who has control of all the fire-fighting apparatus and firemen in the city?
5. Who appoints him? How long does he hold his position? Is he a trained fire-fighter? Do those under him have permanent positions?
6. Does your city have a fire-prevention bureau? If so, visit it and find out what it does to get the people to be careful.
7. What do you and your family do to make your house safe, such as keeping rubbish cleaned up, and avoiding starting fires with oil or being careless with matches and cigarettes?
8. Is there a policeman near your house most of the time?
9. What does this policeman do to serve you and your family?
10. Has he a permanent position? Is he a kind and useful man?
11. Who appoints the head of the whole police force in your city?
12. Does the same person appoint both the police and the fire head?
13. What would happen to your city if the fire and police departments did not do their duty?
14. What do you do to help the policemen with their work?

15. If you knew that boys were going to build fires in the street would you report the fact to the police? It is your city, you know, and the policemen are hired by your city.

16. Is your house insured, and your furniture? Is the rate high or low? Why is it high or low in your city?

17. What effect would it have on the price of property in your city if people thought that the policemen were not efficient?

CHAPTER X

PROTECTION FROM DISEASE

92. Health. Health depends on fresh air, pure water, nourishing food, sunlight, exercise, recreation, rest, and temperance. It used to be thought that all of these things could be more easily secured in the country than in the city. For this reason people thought for a long time that the city was a bad place to live in if one wished to have good health. But it has been proved that this is not true, and that people live as long and are as able to resist disease where many live together in cities as where they are scattered far apart on farms. This wholesome condition of life in the city cannot be maintained except through careful coöperation on the part of the citizens and expert supervision of the conditions of living. People in cities live so close together that if a few neglect their health all the others are endangered by their neglect.

93. Two Causes of Disease. We may say that bad health results from a passive and an active cause. In the first place we prepare the way for disease if we let our bodies break down. This happens when we breathe too little fresh air, and our lungs become weak; when we fail to exercise, and our muscles become soft; when we eat rapidly or carelessly, and our stomachs get out of order; when we use stimulants such as tobacco, alcohol, coffee, and other such things that reduce our power to resist disease. In the second place, we are in danger from minute germs which float in the air or are carried into our systems in food

or drink. The broken-down body cannot resist them; even the strong cannot always do so. To keep our bodies strong depends largely on ourselves; but to protect us from germs we have to combine for the purpose of employing inspectors and other scientists. In the employment of these experts the advantage lies with the city dweller over those who live in the country.

94. Living Conditions. While we must ourselves keep our bodies strong and clean, those of us who are educated and well informed can help those who are less fortunate in their effort to live wisely. We shall see that one of the main objects of city planning is to keep the residence districts free from smoke, gases, nerve-racking noises, and other enemies of good health. We shall also see that the plan must include play-grounds and parks, where people may exercise and where the air may circulate through trees and over grass so that it will be purified and cooled. In addition to all this, most cities have tenement house regulations. A tenement house is one in which many families live in a small space. Poor people have to live where the rent is low. Some property owners are willing to let their property run down and to rent unwholesome places to poor people at a small price. But if this is permitted the health of our people breaks down and the whole city is endangered. Diseases may develop and spread to all parts of the city. Moreover, those who break down are not able to do their part of the work of the world, and so they must be sent to asylums and hospitals at the public expense. It is necessary, therefore, to see that no people are permitted to live where the rooms are not well lighted, where the fire escapes are not sufficient, where water for washing is not convenient, or where the air is not pure.

95. Food and Drink. We have already spoken of the problem of water for the city. In the country, wells and springs are constantly in danger from germs brought into them through surface drainage. The water of a city can be kept perfectly pure. It is brought from a distant place where no germs can drain into it, and it is inspected every day by trained scientists. Or it is brought from some lake or river and thoroughly filtered. Therefore, city drinking-water is generally safe. Milk is also likely to be pure if the city is well governed. Inspectors may meet the milk wagon at any place and take a sample for inspection. If it is not as good as it should be the city may take action against the company which supplies it. All food for the city is brought from a distance. One of the advantages of having well-planned markets is that in such places foods may be carefully inspected and merchants may be prevented from selling fruits, vegetables, or meats which are not wholesome. It is impossible for every buyer to know whether such food is good or not. Therefore if we do not work together in providing trained inspectors and in supporting their rules we are in constant danger.

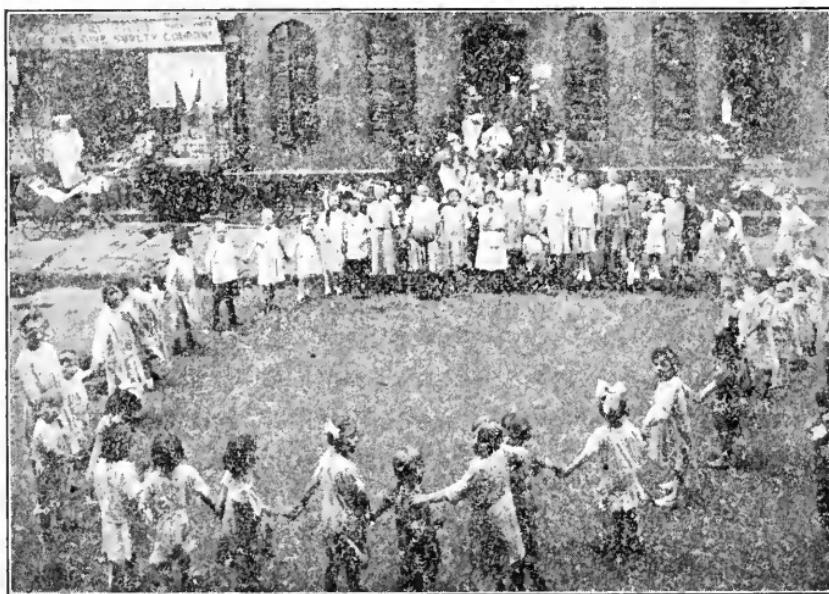
96. Pure Food Laws. Much of our food is of a kind which can be kept a long time. This is shipped directly from the wholesale producer to the retail grocer. Such things as flour, canned goods, cheese, and the like, may be sent from a distant State to our retail shops and there sold directly to us with but little inspection. Meat is in particular danger of being unwholesome, as are all cold storage foods. We shall see that the State government and even the government of the United States must assist the city in watching such food. One means of protecting the buyer is to enact severe laws, placing a penalty on any firm which

sells or ships foods that contain any unwholesome chemical or other substance. An inspection of the goods from any factory helps to protect the honest manufacturer by punishing the dishonest one. Much candy, for example, is not at all fit to eat; but our laws are not yet sufficiently severe to prevent its manufacture and sale. Cakes are frequently made from eggs which are spoiled or stale. Flour may contain substances that are injurious if not actually poisonous. Canned goods often contain chemicals to preserve them which weaken the power of digestion. But it is impossible for the consumer to discover these things. We must depend upon pure food laws with inspectors and other officers to administer them.

97. Prevention of Diseases. Scientists have discovered many means of preventing such diseases as smallpox, typhoid fever, diphtheria, and the like. By injecting into the body substances which help it to resist the disease the doctors make us nearly immune. But many of us are not willing to submit to these remedies, and it is necessary for the government to enact laws which compel us to adopt them. These laws are not so much to protect the person who takes the cure as to prevent him from being a center from which the disease spreads to others. In some cities children may not go to school unless they have been vaccinated against smallpox. Consequently, this terrible disease has been practically eliminated. Another step which the government takes to prevent disease from spreading is to quarantine the person who is ill. This means to shut him up and allow no one to enter or leave the house in which he is except physicians, nurses, and others who are careful enough not to carry away germs.

98. Children's Health. The government does many

other things for the health of children. In some cities dentists go to the school and examine the teeth of every pupil. If the teeth are not cared for they decay and cause poison in the body which prepares the way for the health to break down. The eyes of pupils are examined to see whether glasses are needed. Food is provided in some places so that children will not become weak from hunger and so fall victims to disease germs. All of these things are done for



A children's play-street, which has to take the place of a carefully planned playground.

the purpose of making the people of the city healthy and able to do their part of the work of the world, and to make the city a better place in which to live.

99. The Health Department. Now, who has charge of all this work? It is clear that those who do have charge of it must be trained experts and that they must make their

plans years in advance for the work they are to do. Later on in this book you will find a discussion of the question whether such officers should be elected or appointed in order to secure the best management. The custom is to appoint the head of the health department and to pay him a good salary. He is then permitted to appoint those who work under him—the chemists, the bacteriologists, the doctors, dentists, and oculists. But even with the most careful appointment by the best mayor we can elect, mistakes are often made in the selection of health officers. As an additional precaution it is customary to permit the State Board of Health to have some supervision over the city department. The State Board can send an inspector to see what the city department is doing, and to give warning if the work is not being well done.

100. Hospitals. Most cities maintain hospitals at the public expense. Some of these are so managed that the rich may use them if they wish, and pay for the use. But they are also for the poor, who may use them without cost. To these institutions persons with contagious diseases may be taken and quarantined so that the home may not suffer too much inconvenience and so that the officers of health may be sure that the quarantine is enforced. In such hospitals many ills besides ordinary diseases are cured. Children with deformed feet are treated so that they will be better able to care for themselves. Those who have suffered from accidents undergo operations to restore them to usefulness; and everything possible is done to relieve distress.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. On what does the health of your city depend? That is, how can you yourself keep healthy?

2. Is the air of your city pure? Is there much smoke in it?
3. Are there swamps near that breed mosquitoes? If so, is the city government doing all it can to dry them up?
4. Has your city a department of health?
5. Who appoints the head of it, and what kind of a man is appointed?
6. Is the milk which comes to your city inspected? By whom and where is it inspected?
7. Is the meat and other food inspected?
8. What efforts are made to fight the flies and to protect the food in shops and markets from flies?
9. Are persons quarantined in your city when they have diseases which are easily taken by other people?
10. Are the children in the schools advised by city officers to have their teeth and eyes attended to?
11. Does your city have building inspectors who see that buildings are light and not crowded?
12. Are you sure that the water you drink is pure and wholesome?
13. What officers do you depend on to see to this? Who appoints them, and who holds them to their duty?
14. Make a small map of your city showing the location of parks and play-grounds.
15. What have these to do with the health of the people?
16. Your city may not have many of the advantages mentioned above; few cities have all of them. But how many of them could you have if you had no government?
17. If you vote carefully when you grow up would this have anything to do with making your city more healthful?
18. What do you do to care for your health and that of your neighbors?

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

101. Government and Education. It is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss education but to show how government gives aid to education so that you will know how to provide in the charter for this part of the city's work. We have already discussed several kinds of work which the city government does. Education is probably more important than all the rest combined. It is certainly the most expensive part. It is also a part which causes a great deal of debate and uncertainty. Many people think it is too important to be entrusted to the politicians at all. But the difficulty in the way of eliminating politics is that the city must control what it pays for; and the politicians are the people whom we expect to control our work. After you have read this chapter you must try to decide how we shall arrange the charter so that we can control the money we spend for education and at the same time make the schools efficient.

102. Self-Government and Education. One of the reasons why the city spends so much money on education is that self-government cannot be carried on unless people are well enough educated to work together wisely. One reason why self-government has not grown up in Mexico and other places is that most of the people are so ignorant and thoughtless that they do not understand what the government must do and how it must do it. Jefferson, who was

one of the greatest advocates in his time of education for all the people, said that democracy cannot be practised unless people are trained.

103. Self-Government and Culture. But if there were no other reason for education than to help self-government, we should not need it if we were not going to have a democracy. Yet we know that training and culture are important for every one, whatever kind of government is maintained. Therefore we all wish to coöperate in giving these things to as many people as we can. The purpose of education is to do two things: first, to make people more efficient, and second, to make it possible for them to enjoy life to the full. The first of these is called training, and the second is called culture. Both are given in the schools; but both are also given in many other ways, such as through art galleries, theaters, concerts, lectures, and the like, as well as in the schools.

104. City Life and Education. It is expensive and difficult for people who live in the country to have education at a reasonable price. They live so far apart that they must either travel a long way to get to the schools and other places in which culture may be obtained, or these things must be maintained at great cost for a small number of people. Where many thousands of people live so near together that one can walk from one end of the city to the other in thirty or forty minutes, or where street cars are available, it is easy for several hundred families to be supplied by one school or art gallery or museum. Each family therefore need pay only a small sum in taxes to support the teachers and museum officers. In fact these fine things are so easily obtained in the city that many who live there do not appreciate their value.

Strangers come a long distance to the city to get what the inhabitants are often not willing to take the trouble to use.

105. Training. The first duty of every young person is to prepare to make a living; that is, to learn a trade or a profession. We have seen in chapter five that the life we live to-day depends upon each of us knowing well how to do some one part of the work of the world. One person is a carpenter, another is a shoemaker, another is a book-keeper, another a plasterer, and so on. Unless we learn when we are young how to do something we must expect to be parasites, for a parasite is one who takes a living without giving anything in return. Many good people have been unfortunate in their childhood and have not received any training. Such people have to do merely manual labor which requires no training, and for this they do not receive much money. There are still so many untrained people that manual labor is cheap. The more people there are who have a good training for some sort of efficient work, the more work a given number of citizens can accomplish. Since we are all dependent on the efficiency of our neighbors, the city has a right to require that every one be trained. Cities, which require all children to go to school, are said to have compulsory education. This compulsion is generally required by State law, however, because cities are dependent partly on neighboring cities for their welfare.

106. Education and Recreation. One of the most important parts of our life is our recreation, and we must prepare for it. Some one said, "Do not trust a person who never plays," but many good people are too busy to play. They are so busy because some other people neglect to do their part of the world's work, and so these busy ones have

to do more than their share. If all of us had occupations and did our part efficiently, there would be time enough for all of us to play; and then we should all be able to live better lives. Every boy and girl should learn how to play some out-of-door game, and learn to do it well. If they learn to do it while young their muscles will be trained to it while growing. Tennis, baseball, wrestling, swimming, boxing,—all of these are better than marbles; but even marbles is better than no game at all. If one has sixteen waking hours, and if he spends some of the time in play he can do more work in the remaining time than if he worked steadily with no play. One must remember that sitting idle is neither work nor play.

107. Education and Culture. Culture includes the enjoyment of many things that young children may not understand or care much about. But if the children do not prepare to enjoy such things they must look forward to a sad time when they are too old to play games. Culture is the ability to enjoy music, pictures by great painters, beautiful architecture, fine scenery, great books like Shakespeare, and the work of other men who have given all of their lives to what is called art. If you take the trouble you can, while you are young, train yourself to appreciate such things. Then when you are older and can no longer play rough games, you will have something which you can enjoy. Many people become dissipated and throw away their lives because they have never learned to enjoy wholesome pleasure.

108. Schools. What is a school? It is an institution in which we are trained in the things we have been discussing in this chapter. Our civilization has become so fine that all young people have an opportunity to go to school and pre-

pare for useful and happy lives. In old times many children, even very young ones, were obliged to work hard because our industry was badly organized. Every one then had to help in order to get enough food and clothes and shelter. Now it is possible for the young to have leisure to study at least until the age of fourteen years. In fact, some States will not permit children to work for wages until they have reached this age. This does not mean that children should not perform useful tasks for their parents; such tasks help them to form character and become better citizens. What is a college or university? It is merely a higher school where people go on making further preparation for getting more out of life, putting more into it, and so living fuller lives. To live is to work at some useful task for which we are prepared and in which we are interested.

109. The Department of Education. Think, then, what a responsible task the department of education in a city has. Some cities are not very carefully organized. They scatter the task of training the young through a large number of little bureaus and commissions. Because of this poor organization the citizen is likely to take but little interest in this part of the government. It is not clear to him how important this work is. The department of education must plan at least a generation ahead for training in trades, for recreation, and for culture. The head of such a department should be the best man or woman that can be found for the work and should receive a salary high enough to make it possible for him to give all of his time to the work. He should also have a sufficient number of assistants to help carry on the many divisions of his work. For example one assistant may arrange courses of lectures, one may manage

play-grounds and recreation, and one may supervise music and art.

110. Control of Education. One of the most difficult parts of the study of government is to decide how the citizen shall control the governors or officers. How shall we control those who manage our department of education? This problem may be too difficult a question for you. It often seems to be too difficult for grown people. But we may remind ourselves that efficient education must be planned for many years in advance. Since this is true, we must trust the planning to some one and not interfere with him too much. Having employed the best experts we can find, let us trust them and give them our loyal support.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Does your city supply kindergarten education? Where is one of the kindergartens located?
2. What is the nearest elementary school to your house?
3. Does your city have both junior and senior high schools?
4. Who is the head of your school system? Who appoints him?
5. Who pays for the education that you receive?
6. How many schools would your city have for those who are not well off if the city were not organized into a government?
7. What other educational institutions does your city have?
8. Are there art galleries, museums, concerts, or public lectures?
9. Many cities do not have these things. If your city does not have them now, how should the citizens try to get them?
10. Do children in your city have to go to school whether they want to or not? Why are they required to take an education?
11. How are teachers selected in your city?
12. Are the teachers in your city paid as much as well educated and trained people should be paid?
13. How can the citizens provide better salaries for the teachers?

14. Has your school a playground where the pupils may receive physical education? Why is this important?
15. Do you try to help your teachers to make your school useful? How do you do this?
16. How far do you have to travel to the school you attend? How far would you have to travel if you lived in the country?
17. Ask your father what kind of school building he had when he was a boy, and how far he had to travel to get to it?
18. Find out what it costs to educate a child in your city.
19. If the citizens of your city wish to change the school system whom would they elect to make the changes they wish?

CHAPTER XII

THE UNFORTUNATES

111. Abnormal People. Thus far we have spoken of the relations between the city government and normal or ordinary people. Such people have occupations at which they work regularly; they earn a living and in a lawful way get as much out of life as the customs of their community make possible. They attract but little attention from officers or newspapers. If all the people of a city were normal the task of the policeman would be easy, and the expense of maintaining the government would be much less than it is. Most of the members of our school are normal people, and we have but little to do with law, even though we obey it. Abnormal people are different from the rest of us. They are handicapped in some way, and for this reason they are burdens on the community. This chapter treats of the relation of the city government to these unfortunates, and about the things we must consider when we write a charter if we are to handle such people wisely.

112. Kinds of Abnormal People. While there are many different kinds of abnormal people, we may divide them for our purposes into a few classes. First, are the paupers. These are people who are lazy or whose spirit has been broken by misfortune or disappointment, and who have not the strength of character to take a fresh grip on life. They are content to beg or steal a living as parasites on the community. They are pitiful and deserve our care just as

much as invalids do. Second, are those who are physically incapable. Among these are the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the crippled, the deformed, and those whose bodies are in some other way broken down. Third, are the mentally irresponsible. There are all degrees of these from the merely peculiar to the violently insane, who must be kept in a strait-jacket. Fourth, are the criminals. These range in degree from the foolish boy or girl who breaks the law in a childish prank to the confirmed outlaw who starts again on his career of crime as soon as he is released from a prison sentence for some previous offense. All of these unfortunates are pitiable. Probably there is not one of them, who, if he could be placed by some magic power in a condition of sanity and health, would not do anything to keep from returning to his previous sad state. They all lack some quality, mental or physical, that is necessary to make a normal man or woman.

113. Our Duty to Them. A great philanthropist once saw a drunken man reel and fall into a gutter. He looked sadly at the unfortunate and said "But for the grace of God I should be where he is." None of us knows what good fortune has kept us out of the class of defectives; but it is probable that we may credit little of this good fortune to ourselves. We have been blessed with sober, hard-working parents; or good friends have guided us out of temptation; or Providence has in some other way kept us on the right track. There is no one who realizes the true nature of these unfortunate people who does not wish to do for them all he can. In fact there is danger that without careful reflection we will do too much for them.

114. Pauperizing. One of the most unkind things we can do is to pauperize them; yet this is what our first

impulse tempts us to do. No decent person can see another hungry without wishing to feed him at once. If a stranger begs of us on the street we are almost certain to give him something unless we reflect. If we reflect we will see that this may only send him one degree deeper in the scale of misfortune. It is easy to give a little money to every beggar we meet. It is hard to resist his appeal, but it may be kinder to stop and find out his condition and then to let the police know if he really needs help. It is generally illegal to beg on the street, but this law is evaded by the beggars pretending to sell shoe-strings or some other cheap merchandise. One need never turn a deaf ear to the unfortunates whom he meets. If one has time it is wise to stop and hear the plea and try to start the beggar on the road to work or friends. If he is weak one may take him to a place where food may be obtained and give him something to eat before sending him on his way. But it is almost always unwise to give money to a stranger. The effect is to encourage him to continue as a parasite and to lead others into his path. This paragraph, however, is no argument against generous aid to those whose misfortunes we know and understand.

115. Organized Charity. In some large cities those who wish to help the poor have formed associations for private coöperation in caring for them. Such organizations solicit subscriptions, urge individuals not to give to the poor separately, and make a study of the real needs of every applicant. If private charity is necessary, this is the best method of administering it; and many of the most generous people in the country support these charity organizations. One rich woman founded an Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and gave to it a considerable sum

of money. This association has the task of studying poverty, not with a view to giving money to poor persons but to preventing people from becoming poor. If more attention were given to compulsory insurance, so that the death of the father would not leave his family without money, to employers' liability laws, so that workmen would be protected against accidents, and to the education of people for useful trades, there would be less need of charity.

116. Criminals. Every large city attracts to it the weak characters whom we call criminals. These people, who have got into the habit of living outside the law, find it much easier and more profitable to carry on their evil trade in the city than in the country. There are different kinds of criminals, but the main division is into those who commit crime repeatedly and by habit, and those who are first offenders. The former often seem to be almost beyond hope of reform. The latter generally need only a helping hand and a chance to become normal citizens again. In old times society looked upon criminals as enemies of the State; it prescribed punishments for them, and was disposed to rejoice at the suffering they underwent as a result of their evil deeds. But as civilization has progressed the notion of revenge in punishment has largely disappeared. The government used to hang a man for stealing. Now an effort is made to show him the error of his ways, and to make of him a useful citizen.

117. I am My Brother's Keeper. All of these unfortunate abnormal people are in our charge. Many of them are in our city. We pass them on the street every day. We are living in comfort and with a certainty of good food and a comfortable bed. Many of them are never certain of anything; and some are in constant dread of the prison or

the asylum. What shall we do for these brothers of ours whom we wish to help and yet to whom we dare not give money for fear we will send them down to pauperism? The answer to this question may be found in an efficient *department of charities and correction*. This is not a particularly good name for it, but probably it is as good a one as we are likely to find. In Philadelphia it is called the *Department of Public Welfare*.

118. The Work of the Government. The department of charities and correction has many branches. In the first place it employs experts in criminal psychology. Such experts study the minds of those who commit crimes with a view to finding out what is best to do for them. Thus far not a great deal has been accomplished along this line; but the future may teach us much about the reasons why people commit crimes. The department studies other kinds of unfortunates also, and collects information which future generations may use. It collects exact information about those who need immediate help, and provides this help. It has charge of many institutions such as asylums, prisons, reformatories, and the like. Prisons and reformatories are themselves rapidly being reformed by the introduction of more humane methods in their management. With the reform of prisons is coming an improvement in the treatment of criminals after they have been released from the institution. Formerly it was almost impossible for ex-convicts to find work; sometimes the government officials warned people not to employ them. Under such conditions it was almost impossible for a criminal to become a decent citizen. Now the government helps him to find employment, and acts as his friend during the months of uncertainty.

119. Education and Reconstruction. The whole purpose of an enlightened government in dealing with unfortunates is to do one or the other of two things: either to rebuild them into useful citizens through education, training, and encouragement; or, if this is impossible, to care for them as humanely as possible, so that they will neither live in misery nor injure others. The insane person and the habitual criminal must be kept shut up; the hopelessly crippled must be cared for; but most others have some hope of reconstruction. The blind may be taught trades; the deaf and dumb may learn to do almost any kind of manual labor and to render many kinds of higher service. It is often best to leave much of this work to the State government which can do it on a large scale and therefore more economically than the city can.

120. The Duty of the Citizen. Our duty is to see that the government is so organized that efficient public servants will be employed to look after these unfortunates and to help in creating a public opinion that will support the government against the waves of disapproval which often come against all useful reforms. It is also our duty to persuade our fellow-citizens not to pauperize others nor encourage them to become parasites.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. What is the meaning of the saying, "I am my brother's keeper"?
2. Make a list of the kind of unfortunate people in your city whom it is the duty of the city to care for.
3. Make a list of the institutions in or near your city which care for the unfortunates. Which of these are paid for by the city?

4. Try to explain the reason why it is against the law in many cities to beg on the street.
5. Is there a charity organization society in your city? If not, how are the poor cared for?
6. Why is it better to give a poor man work than to give him money?
7. Why is it better to spend \$1000 teaching a blind man a trade than to spend \$500 merely to care for him in an asylum?
8. What officials in your city care for the unfortunates?
9. Who appoints these officials, and for how long do they serve?
10. What certainty is there that these officials have been trained or educated for their tasks? Do they understand the people who are under their care?
11. What control have the voters of the city over the care of the unfortunates? If there is a public demand that the method of caring for the poor be changed, how can this demand be made effective?
12. What sort of scientists does a department of charities and corrections require?
13. Is it likely that these scientists could be obtained by election?
14. How much salary is paid to one of the experts in this department? Is this as much as would be paid to a private expert in this same kind of work? Does your city spend enough on this work to give its unfortunates the best care?

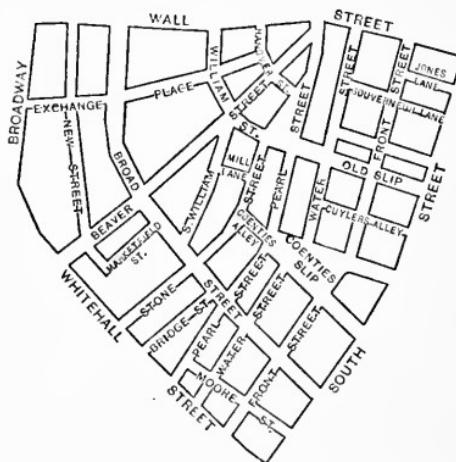
CHAPTER XIII

STREETS AND PARKS

121. City Planning. Those who study the government of cities and the effort to make them better places to live in, speak of city planning as one of the most important things the officers have to attend to. To plan a city is to arrange its streets so that they will be built economically and conveniently; to encourage the placing of buildings of all sorts in such a way that the city will be beautiful and wholesome; and to arrange means of travel so that traffic can be easily handled. To plan a city requires that some persons think out the plan years in advance and persuade the people of the city to follow it after it has been made. This means that experts in city building must be employed and kept in office for many years. They must not be changed with every change of party control. This chapter speaks of some things the city planners have to think about.

122. Unplanned Cities. Most of our old cities grew up without any sort of arrangement beforehand. It has been said that the location of the streets of the older part of Boston were determined by the cows as they made paths going to and coming from pasture. The lower part of Manhattan Island in New York City has a confusion of streets in which it is almost impossible to find one's way. It would cost too much now to change the location of any of the streets in either old Boston or old New York. Expensive houses have been built on the narrow streets; there are no parks, and there is no order.

123. Early City Plans. When William Penn laid out Philadelphia he expected it to become a large city and so he arranged the streets carefully. All of the numbered streets run north and south, and their numbers show how far they are from the Delaware River. Twentieth Street is



The streets of old New York City.

twice as far from it as Tenth Street is. The others run east and west, but they are not so conveniently marked, for they have names, many of them from trees, such as Cherry, Chestnut, Walnut, and so on. One must remember the list of these streets to know just where each one is. On the streets the houses are numbered one hundred to a block so that 2550 Chestnut Street is between Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth. Therefore, if one knows the list of named streets and the street and number of a house one is able easily to find its location. In some parts of New York City the streets are more conveniently numbered. The streets running north and south are called avenues and are numbered from east to west. Those running east and west are

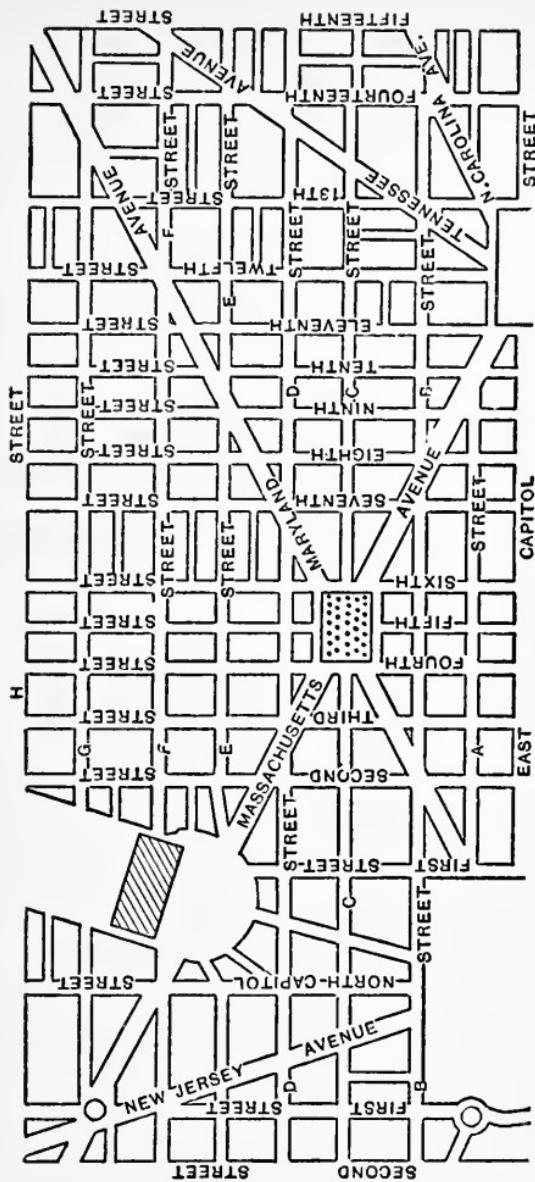
FORTY	SECOND		STREET
FORTY	FIRST		STREET
			STREET
FORTIETH			STREET
			STREET
THIRTY	NINTH		STREET
			STREET
THIRTY	EIGHTH		STREET
			STREET
THIRTY	SEVENTH		AVENUE
	SIXTH		AVENUE
THIRTY	FIFTH		AVENUE
	FOURTH		AVENUE
THIRTY	THIRD		AVENUE
	SECOND		AVENUE
THIRTY	FIRST		AVENUE
			AVENUE
THIRTIETH			STREET
TWENTY	NINTH		STREET
	EIGHTH		STREET
TWENTY	SEVENTH		STREET
	SIXTH		STREET
TWENTY	FIFTH		STREET
	FOURTH		STREET
TWENTY	THIRD		STREET

The gridiron plan used in the newer portions of New York City.

called streets and are numbered from south to north. Therefore one may know at once in what part of the city the corner of Seventh Avenue and Fifty-seventh Street is to be found. A stranger can easily find his way in such a plan. But the house numbers are not so conveniently placed as are those in Philadelphia.

124. The Plan of Washington. Our capital city was even more carefully planned than either Philadelphia or New York. In both of these cities diagonal streets were omitted. If one wishes to go from the southeastern portion of either city to the northwestern he must follow a round-about course. As the student of geometry would say, he must follow two sides of a right-angled triangle instead of the hypotenuse. The plan of Washington provides some diagonal streets which save much time in traveling. This plan also makes possible a more beautiful city, for at such a point as the intersection of Massachusetts and Maryland Avenues trees and handsome buildings may be placed which may be seen from long distances. The beauty of the city of Washington is in part due to the fact that Thomas Jefferson made a careful study of the plans of European cities and aided the architect who drew the plan for our capital city. Neither the diagram of New York nor that of Washington is given as a map of the city, but is merely to illustrate the arrangement of the streets.

125. Business Streets. To lay out the streets conveniently is not enough; they must also be economically built, and to do this one must consider the use to which they are to be put. Business streets may be divided into those for wholesale and those for retail business. Those on which wholesale houses are located must bear heavy traffic; to keep them quiet is not important; and to keep them entirely



The plan followed in Washington. Note particularly the diagonal avenues not used in New York City.

clean will be almost impossible, however they may be built. The constant loading and unloading of trucks and other vehicles prevents frequent sweeping. Such streets, therefore, may be paved with Belgian blocks, which is a durable surface for heavy use. The retail streets are for lighter vehicles and so many people use them that it is important to keep them clean and pleasant to the eye. Such streets are generally paved with asphalt or some other smooth and comparatively quiet surface. They should also be wide for they must carry large numbers of carriages and automobiles in the shopping hours.

126. Residence Streets. The streets on which people make their homes must be quiet and clean. They need not be wide and they do not generally have to carry heavy traffic. Asphalt or wooden blocks are a suitable surface for these. The former may be better because with asphalt the streets can be easily washed with the hose. Such streets should also be bordered with grass and trees if possible in order that the air may be cooled and the flying dust caught by the leaves. Residence districts are often in a hilly part of the city. When this is the case the streets need not all be straight. If they are curved they discourage through traffic which the residents do not want; they save driving straight up the hills; and they add to the beauty of the landscape.

127. Boulevards and Parks. It is necessary to plan a city carefully in order to prevent it from being built up too closely. It is important that space be left in which fresh air may circulate, in which trees and grass may grow to cool and purify the air in hot weather; and in which the eyes may be relieved by beautiful spots. It is also important that places be provided in which children may play

and exercise their growing muscles. Such places are called parks, boulevards, and play-grounds. A boulevard is a great broad street with trees along it, and generally with a line of trees and grass down the middle with lines of pavement on either side for vehicles and walks. Play-grounds are so scarce in some parts of old cities that it is necessary for streets to be set aside at certain hours of the day for children to play in. Vehicles are excluded from these streets at such hours, or they are required to move with great care. As the new parts of cities are planned, spaces are reserved for all of these uses; and therefore a park department must be governed by efficient officers who are trained to make plans long in advance of the building of residences. Such officers are not likely to be provided unless cities are given enough home rule by the State to permit them to make their own plans.

128. Civic Centers. So long as our cities are permitted to grow without any plan, beautiful buildings are so scattered about that we do not get full benefit from them. If a city has one or more places where great handsome buildings are placed around a park, this spot becomes a center of interest and we become proud of our city. A result of all such grouping is that citizens have a greater interest in caring for all parts of the city. Such places are sometimes called civic centers. Let us suppose a small park as large as two or three city blocks planted with grass and trees; around it are such buildings as a library, high school, church, theater, a handsome hotel for those who visit the city, the court house, the post office, the city hall, the exterior of which the city art commission has approved. What citizen would not be proud to go there in the evening and think of the fine work his community is doing?

To have such a center, years of planning in advance are necessary, for such great buildings cannot be moved. The city government can provide that when new buildings are erected they may be grouped so that such a center will gradually grow under the direction of an efficient government.

129. The Suburbs. Many American cities have been permitted to grow under the direction of land speculators. It is to the interest of these speculators to have houses built rapidly and cheaply in order that land may be sold quickly for a large profit. This kind of building ruins the appearance of new sections unless the city government has authority and foresight enough to force all new sections to follow a general plan. Many of our city governments have paid no attention to city planning, partly because our city officers serve such short terms that they can plan for only a few years and partly because many of them have so little training in government that they do not know how to make a plan or to follow one which the officers who went before them have made. For wise planning the cities need more home rule, and the officers need longer terms. Besides this, the citizens should take more interest in their home town and should be willing to support public officers in their control of private business.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Draw a map of the principal streets in your city, or if the city is large, of a part of it.
2. If there are no diagonal streets, show where some might be placed.
3. Indicate the location of parks in the map; and show where other parks are needed.
4. Show where a civic center might be placed.

5. Make a list of the buildings now in your city which might well be placed on the civic center.
6. Show which are the main residence streets; wholesale streets; retail streets. How are these paved now?
7. Has your city a planning commission? If not who looks after planning the streets so that they will be convenient?
8. What is the condition of your suburbs? Are they planned, or does the city let them "just grow" as Topsy did?
9. Is it a wise economy for a city to spend money planning its suburbs and its other sections? What effect does it have on the value of property? Does it make the tax-payers richer or poorer? Does it attract other people and more business to the city?
10. What would be some of the main difficulties in the way of planning your city wisely? Would some citizens object to it?
11. What are the reasons why you have no beautiful civic center in your city, if you have none?
12. Are plenty of park spaces being provided in the suburbs of your city while the land is cheap? Are new parks in the densely settled parts of the city being provided?
13. Has your city government a department of parks? Who appoints the head of it? What kind of scientists does it need?
14. Are the heads of the street building department and of the utilities department under the same control so that they will work together?

CHAPTER XIV

BUILDING ZONES OR DISTRICTS

130. Rights of Property. We used to think that a man had a right to do what he pleased with his own property. If he owned a plot of land we supposed he had a right to build on it any kind of house he wished and to use the house for any lawful purpose. In those days people lived so far apart that it did not make much difference to a man what his neighbor did, and people had not yet learned the value of working together in protecting the rights of property. The first steps to limit the right of property owners to do as they wished with their town lots were taken by private agreement. A company would buy a section of land near a city for development; it would then sell lots to persons who wished to build on them, but would require the purchasers to agree that they would build only particular kinds of houses and use them only for particular purposes. For example, a company bought twenty acres in a suburb and divided the land into a hundred building lots. Each purchaser was required to build a house to cost not less than ten thousand dollars and to use it only as a one-family dwelling. He was forbidden to build a stable there, or to keep chickens or pigs. When all the lots were sold and houses built there was a pleasant district of one hundred well protected homes.

131. The Use of Buildings. If some such limitations are not placed on the use of land in cities the property of

no man is safe from ruin. A livery stable or even a public garage next to a residence may rob the owner of the residence of a large part of his investment. Let us suppose that a hundred families have built homes in an unrestricted district. Each has invested fifteen thousand dollars. It is a quiet, wholesome community, and the property is rising in value. Then suppose a newcomer buys a lot and builds a large factory which runs night and day, gives off disagreeable odors, and keeps up a constant noise. Each of the hundred families would lose several thousand dollars from the value of its home; and might even be obliged to give it up, for it would no longer be a desirable residence. The factory owner would not receive what the home-owners lost. There would be a great waste merely because the factory had been put in the wrong place.

132. The Height of Buildings. Property may also be reduced in value by the erection of a high building adjacent to it. The ground on which a house stands may become almost worthless by the act of a perfectly respectable neighbor. The sun which shines on it and the air which blows over it form a large part of its value. If a twelve-story apartment house is built next to a residence all of the sunlight and much of the air may be cut off. But not only residences are ruined in this way. In a part of the business section of a certain city, a number of office buildings for lawyers and other such people were erected. These buildings were ten stories high or less. Then came a new office building twenty-five stories high. Men wanted offices in this fine new building; they left the older ones, which could not get new tenants because the demand for offices was already met. Several families who owned these older

houses were nearly ruined. The rights of people to their property should be protected from such losses.

133. Drifting Population and Business. In large cities great loss is caused by the fact that sections change in character. A business district is deserted and left a desert because the firms move from there into residence sections, which are thereby rendered unfit for residence. Suppose a comfortable section of homes begins to attract factories. As soon as the factories begin to arrive, families begin to move out. Only a few of the houses are used for factories, but most of the well-to-do people leave. The owners of these deserted residences cannot rent them for a reasonable sum, and so they permit them to run down. Into them come poor people because the rents are low. These people cannot demand repairs and improvements and so the neighborhood goes from bad to worse. Smoke, gas, and noise make life unwholesome; and the health of the people is likely to break down. The owners of the property experience great loss; and the city develops a bad name all because there has been no plan and no foresight. The leaders of the city government have neglected their duty, not because of any bad intent but because they did not know any better. Is it wise for us to continue to neglect this part of city planning?

134. Zoning the City. Improvement in city planning and in zoning to control the use of buildings has been made in many places. Some governments have made a complete survey of the cities which they serve. Statistics have been collected about all parts of the community; on the basis of these statistics, maps have been made on which plans have been worked out for limiting wholesale business to one section, retail shops to another, residences to a third, and

factories to a fourth. These last are usually placed on the side of the city toward which the wind generally blows so that smoke and gases will be carried away from the residence districts. Lines of travel are worked out so that citizens may move quickly and easily from one zone to another. Even the suburbs are planned so that future building will be done economically and wisely. Such foresight saves the community money by preventing the waste due to the changing use of buildings.

135. A Living Plan. The plan thus formed must not be too rigid. It must be more like a tree than like a stone wall; for it must slowly but constantly change. It must usually be made for a large community already built up. Property owners there will not support the plan if it threatens to force them to change the use of their buildings. The wisest thing to do is to arrange for the plan to go into effect after several years, and to apply only to new buildings. If this is done the city will gradually adjust itself to new conditions without great loss to property and therefore without too much friction between the owners and the government. All can see that such planning is good for the city in the long run, and that it will protect owners; but many persons are not willing to risk loss to-day in order to provide protection ten years from now. Therefore the plan must grow slowly.

136. A Planning Commission. Because of the danger on the one hand of too sudden changes and on the other of the need of constant watchfulness to see that the plan is not evaded, there should be officers of the government who will enforce the plan after it has been made. In some cities what is called the planning commission does this work. The members of the commission are appointed for

long terms; they have offices where the maps are kept and where complaints may be heard; and they are constantly busy adjusting the plans to new conditions. They are always under pressure from two kinds of people. One is the theoretical reformer who wishes to push the plan so rapidly that the real estate owners will be angry; the other is the individual property owner who wishes to get ahead of the plan and make money out of what the city is doing. If the reformer succeeds, a government may be elected which will throw the whole plan overboard. If the selfish owner succeeds, other citizens will lose confidence in the commission and refuse to support it. Such a commission may give fine service to the city in another way by using its influence to check the building of ugly monuments, unsightly billboards, and the like.

137. Zoning and the Civic Center. The civic center should be the special interest of all city planners. The commission should be careful to limit the kind of buildings which may be erected on it or even near it so that its beauty may not be spoiled. Such a center causes all property in its neighborhood to increase in value, and there will be constant pressure by people who wish to use this growing value to their own advantage. This tendency may be illustrated by the experience of a certain city. This city was developing a beautiful square near which was a fine hotel. People were attracted to the neighborhood by the beauty of the square and its surroundings. When the hotel attracted more guests than it could house, the owner planned to make more money by adding to the height of his building. It was against the law for him to do this but he thought the law would not be enforced. A fine lesson was taught by the city government when it required him to

tear down the illegal upper stories at his own expense. Other builders there will understand that the people of that city means to protect their rights.

138. Some Rules for Zoning. The planning commission should make definite rules long enough in advance so that builders can make arrangements to meet them. In the first place, general zones should be laid out on the city map. Then rules about the height of buildings in various sections should be made. For example, in some sections no structure higher than the width of the street should be allowed. In others no house should be permitted to occupy more than a part of the lot, so that some land will be left free. No garages nor stables should be permitted on the front street in some sections, but might be placed on alleys or side streets. Only single family residences should be allowed in some streets, while in others apartment houses might be erected. By all such limitations the value of property is made stable and great losses and speculative profits are prevented.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. The zoning of cities for the use and height of buildings is a new idea in America. Is any attention being paid to it in your city?
2. Do you know any persons who are trying to interest the city government in the plan? What are they doing to push the idea? What are some of the arguments they use?
3. Can you give any illustrations from your city of factories or shops moving to residential districts? What effect did the change have on the value of property?
4. Make a map of your city showing the main residential districts; factory districts; wholesale business districts; and the like.
5. The retail trade often moves from one part of a city to another. Has it been moving in your city? From where to where?

6. Are there any very high buildings in your city? If so, have they helped or injured the other buildings close to them?
7. If your city wished to make zones for the use and height of buildings, whose *duty* would it be to start the movement?
8. Has your city enough home rule to do this, or would the State legislature have to give it special permission? Ask some man who is interested in public affairs about this?
9. Why should the factory zone be placed on the side of the city to which the wind blows?
10. What kind of people in your city would be likely to oppose a plan to zone it and limit certain kinds of business to certain streets? Would they oppose it if it were put into effect slowly and carefully? Why?
11. In the long run, what effect would zoning have on the value of property in your city?
12. Do you know of any residencee sections where the use of land is limited by those who sell it? Why is this done? Is it good business?

CHAPTER XV

TRAVEL AND TRAFFIC

139. The Problem. We have seen that most cities are centers of commerce and industry. Many are situated where railroad lines cross or where freight is transferred from railroads to steamboats. The people of the city must get all of their food from the rural districts, for no raw materials are produced in these densely settled places. For the same reason the industries must bring their raw materials and fuel from without. It does not require much imagination for one to see long trains of food, fuel, and raw materials rushing constantly into every city, and other trains of products from its factories rushing out. Where the lines nearly meet within the city people swarm, unpacking and packing freight, receiving and delivering packages, all day long. All of this busy life must be organized and planned unless it is to be wasteful and destructive. The planning requires the widest information and the strongest minds. After you have read this chapter you will then have gained only a slight hint of how difficult the task is.

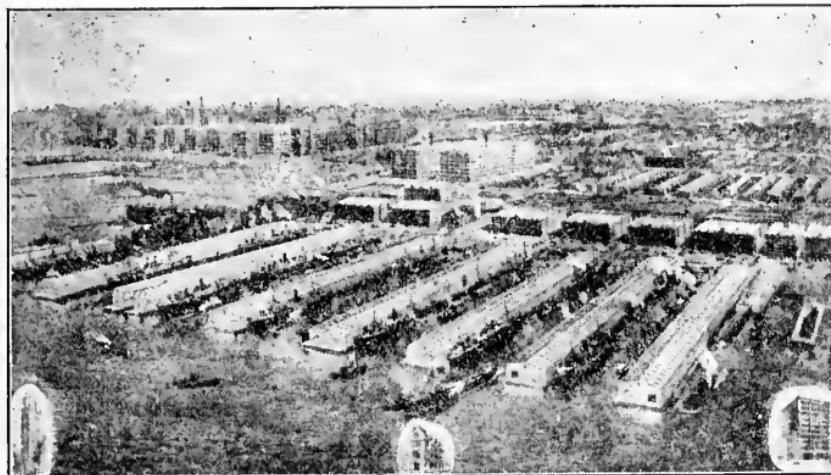
140. Handling Food. Mr. A. lives a mile from a railroad station in a certain city. He needs fresh fruit, vegetables, milk, butter, eggs, fowls, from the neighboring country. He is willing to pay a pretty good price for them if he can get them fresh. Yet they often spoil on the hands of the farmer and Mr. A. must go without because our

business ability has not yet solved the problem of collecting, transporting, and delivering these things. The handling of the problem is becoming each year a little better organized, however, and we have no cause for discouragement. The producers are learning more about the needs of the city and are uniting into associations for finding out just what the city needs before shipment is made. The commission merchants who buy from the farmer in large quantities are being carefully watched so that none will now be tempted to cheat the producer. The jobbers who buy in smaller quantities from the commission merchants, and the retailers who buy from the jobbers and sell to the consumer, are all learning their trade and organizing it for greater service.

141. Markets. The most difficult link in the chain of business we have just spoken of is the need of more markets, and their better location with reference to the railroads and steamboat lines. You will readily see that milk will cost a good deal if the consumer must pay a profit on each bottle to four different classes of people before it reaches him. Yet if they have to handle the milk they must have a profit. The rich buyer can afford to pay these profits in order to have the milk delivered to his home without any trouble on his part. But the poor man can very well go to the market for milk where one man does the work of both jobber and retailer. Convenient markets where fresh foods are sold cheaply because of the elimination of some of the middleman's profits could be situated near the stations, and we could go to the markets and buy much of our own food and carry it home. Going to market is a pleasant change from the regular work of the day, and it saves much of the cost of food.

142. Non-Perishable Freight. The distribution of

freight to homes and to factories is almost as difficult as the distribution of food. Hundreds of carloads of it come into a large city every day; the stations are crowded, and the trucks and delivery wagons can scarcely reach the station platforms. After the truckmen have their loads, they must often haul the goods several miles. It is said



The Bush terminal.

that it sometimes costs more to deliver a package in New York than to bring it from Chicago to New York. Just as we need markets to distribute foodstuffs quickly and easily either to the families or to the retail men, so we need terminals to handle freight and distribute it easily and cheaply to those to whom it has been shipped.

143. The Bush Terminal. Not all cities need as great a plant for handling freight as has been built up in New York, but they all need to apply the same principles of organization as have been applied there. In reading about the New York terminal one should remember that it was necessary for a private individual to force this idea on the

people of the city. The railroads opposed it, and most people looked upon Mr. Bush, who planned it, as a crank. Now he saves millions of dollars for both the people and the railroads.

His terminal consists of seven great docks, longer than the largest ship in the world. Up to these may be brought steamers, or barges loaded with freight cars. The freight from the docks is at once carried up many little railroads to enormous warehouses where it is distributed and assorted, so that it will not have to be handled many times. Outgoing freight is reloaded into cars, for all of the lines come into the terminal. Freight for the wholesale district may be taken on great elevators to floors assigned to it. Further back behind the great warehouses are many small ones for the convenience of shippers and receivers. Railroad lines run to all of these. Therefore, but little trucking and handling are necessary. Unnecessary handling makes the shipment of freight expensive because it must often be done by man-power. Machinery is difficult to use in this task.

144. Terminals and the City Plan. We have seen that the modern city is being divided into districts, and that the use of buildings in some districts is limited to wholesale business; in others to retail trade; in others to factory work; and in others to residence. Now suppose that a freight subway were built in such a city from such a center as the Bush Terminal. There could be one or more freight stations on the subway for each of the great districts. The freight would be assorted at the terminal as the mail is assorted at the post office. It would then be loaded into trains at the terminal, each train for its own district. Elevators would bring the freight from the subway; and

machinery would load it on trucks, which would have to haul it only a few blocks. It is easy to see how this system would save the use of the streets; how it would release truck drivers and freight handlers for other work; and how the life of a city would be made simpler and more comfortable.

145. Passengers and Travel. Passenger travel into and out of the city is important; and it is badly hampered in many places where railroads are permitted to maintain stations inconveniently situated. The city of Washington sets the example for the organization of passenger traffic by maintaining one great union station into which all of the trains run. There is no wasteful transfer of baggage by drays from one station to another. Passengers may go almost directly from the trains of one railroad to those of another. The distribution of passengers from the stations and the transportation of them from one part of the city to another needs careful administration. As in the case of freight, so for the large city the subway seems to be the best solution of the problem of passenger traffic.

146. In These Monopoly is Necessary. We found in our study of the supply of water and light for the city that competition is extravagant and wasteful; so we find that the administration of traffic facilities must be under one head. It is out of the question for two competing lines of subways or elevated railroads to be built and maintained. But if there is no competition the price and the character of the service must be regulated. The charge must not be too great, and there must be some official who sees to it that enough trains are run, that the speed is sufficient, that the traffic is safe, and so on. This demand brings up the question of municipal ownership. The question takes the form, shall the city administer the lines or only control them? Some

cities own the lines and rent them to private corporations on definite contracts. Other cities own and operate the lines. Still others appoint officials who have the power under the law to regulate rates and service without either owning or administering the lines. Honest people differ as to the best method, and it is not wise to be too positive in our views when a question is as yet only a matter of opinion.

147. An Advantage of Municipal Ownership. One advantage in municipal ownership is that it makes the planning of the city much more simple. Private companies would be slow to build a line which may not yield a profit for some years—one which would turn population into some suburb which is yet to be developed. If the future of the city is wisely planned, it may be best to build a subway line to some undeveloped section where homes for workmen convenient to factory districts may be erected. To effect this it might be wise to spend public money on an improvement which will not yield a financial return for a number of years. Yet in the long run, if such an improvement is well managed, the additional income from taxes in the new section and from travel on the line will fully meet all the expenses.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Draw a map showing the main railroads and steamship lines that come into your city.
2. Make a list of the most important freight each brings in and takes away. Do this by thinking about the places they come from or go to, and the things you need or your factories produce.
3. How is the freight taken from the landing places and stations to those who are to use it?
4. How is the freight taken from one line to another when it is passing through your city? Is this the most convenient way?
5. Has your city any such terminals as the Bush Terminal

in New York? Has it any other conveniences for handling freight, such as union freight stations or connecting railroads?

6. Are the markets located conveniently to the freight lines? Are the markets convenient to the citizens who wish to buy?

7. How much does it cost to bring a package of freight from the railroad or steamboat to your house? Does the dray man waste time waiting at the station?

8. Can you suggest for your city a better arrangement or plan for the location of terminals, markets, and delivery of freight?

9. Has your city a union passenger station? If not how do passengers who pass through your city get from one road to another?

10. Are the city car lines or subways arranged conveniently to the stations and steamboat landings?

11. Do these lines give comfortable transportation from the residence districts to the business and factory districts?

12. What department of your government helps to secure better arrangements for travel and traffic? Who appoints the head of this department?

13. Does your city own any of its transportation facilities? Does it manage any of them? Does it control the rate of fare and the amount of service given at rush hours? How does it do these things?

14. What kind of experts are needed to help your city solve its problems of transportation?

15. What is the best way to secure such experts?

CHAPTER XVI

ORGANIZING THE CITY GOVERNMENT

148. The Work to be Done. In the last nine chapters we have seen that there is a great deal of work to be done by the government of a city. Streets must be planned, built, and kept clean; the supply of water, light, and other utilities has to be provided either by the government or under government control; there must be protection from fire and disorder; disease must be prevented or fought; education must be provided; systems of transportation must be worked out and managed. There must be a plan for all of this work and the plan must be made years in advance of the actual doing of the work. Most of this planning requires expert knowledge and experience. People cannot do it unless they know how, and they cannot know how unless they have been trained through study and practice. How are we to organize the city so that we shall have government rather than anarchy, efficiency rather than waste?

149. Two Elements in the Organization of Government. It is not enough to have the work of government well done; it must also be done in the way the people of the city want it done. The government must be both efficient and responsible. These two elements make the public work much more difficult than private work is. Thoughtless people may believe that public service can be supplied in a way to please everybody all of the time; but this is, of course, impossible. Yet so many people are thoughtless

that it is almost impossible to keep efficient public servants in office. Whatever they do displeases some people, and those who are displeased unite to change the government in order to satisfy their grudges. They do not consider the fact that the new government may not please them any better. These thoughtless people add greatly to the difficulty of self-government; but it is useless for us to lament about their folly. We must try to solve the problems of democracy in spite of it. Farmers do not lament because they must contend with dry and wet seasons. They know it is useless to complain about them. The wise course is to recognize the difficulties we have and to do the best we can to overcome them. We must try to organize the government so that the discontent of thoughtless people will cause as little danger as possible.

150. The First Element. The first element in efficient government is to get the work well done. Near the end of this book will be found a chapter on the civil service, but we must refer to it here also. The word civil means "of the State"; and service means the doing of work. Therefore discussion of the civil service has to do with the work of the State, or the city, and with those who do the work. Careful people have been trying for many years to find a way to get efficient people into the civil service; but trained people will not take places in the city government unless they can be certain of holding them when parties change. Expert engineers who build streets and water systems will work only for private companies unless the city will guarantee them their positions in the same way that private companies do. Therefore we should make every effort, when we organize the government, to find a way

of making their positions secure as long as they work efficiently.

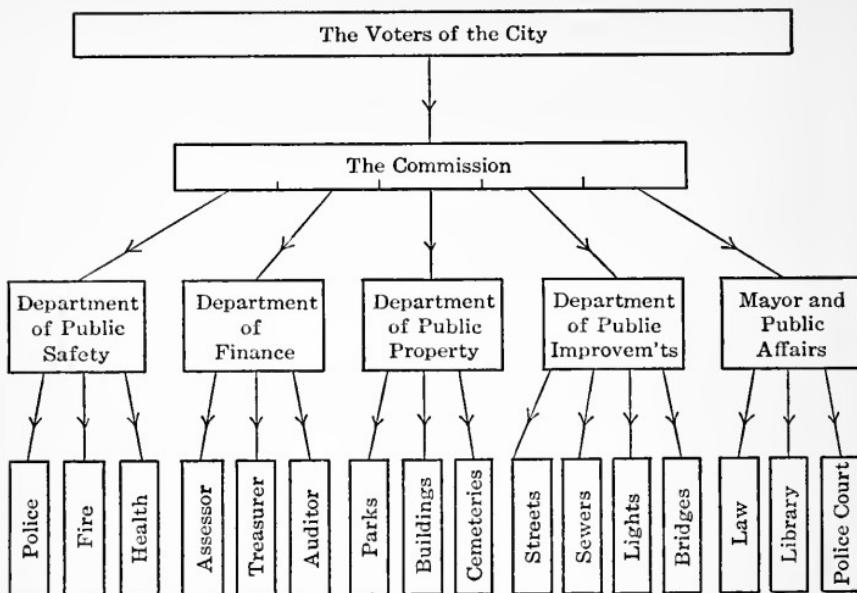
151. Second Element. On the other hand we must find some way of discharging public servants when we find that we have made a mistake in choosing them. Even experts will sometimes neglect their tasks if there is no authority over them. And their selection is so difficult that we sometimes think we are hiring experts when we are really getting shams. The people of a city would never be willing to hire a number of experts and then say to them, "We are going to forget all about government now, and leave it to you. But we will pay the bills." Instead of saying this, the people of a city are likely to say, "We have hired you to do our work; we will pay all the necessary bills; but we are going to elect some people every two or three years whose duty it shall be to watch you and see whether you are doing your duty or not." This element is called popular control; and when we write our charter we must find a way of giving to the people of the city the control of its experts.

152. Galveston, Texas. Let us see how one successful city organized its government to supply this second element. In the year 1900 Galveston was almost destroyed by a tidal wave. For many years before this disaster its government had been so unsatisfactory, so inefficient and extravagant, that the citizens had very little hope that the city would be able to recover from the effects of the tidal wave. But a small group of men who thought it would be a disgrace to confess that the city of Galveston could not govern itself, decided to try a new form of government. They got the consent of the legislature, for Texas did not permit cities to have home rule, and selected a small com-

mission of five men. They persuaded the other citizens to support the experiment and to let these five men act as their representatives in controlling the experts who were to do the work of the city. The plan was a very simple one. The citizens, who elected the commission, practically said to them in the charter, "Go ahead and run the city as you think best. If you do not do well we will elect new men in your places; but we will not interfere with the government in any other way." We cannot describe all the details of this new organization, but the result of it was that Galveston was rebuilt into a splendid city; its debts were paid; and its people to-day are proud of their government.

153. *Des Moines, Iowa.* Such a successful experiment as this attracts attention. The people of Des Moines, Iowa, also were dissatisfied with their city government. They had not suffered any single great calamity as Galveston had, but their officers were extravagant and inefficient; and the people were discouraged. Some of them said, "Let us try the Galveston plan." Others said, "Oh, a new charter can do no good. One kind of government is as good as another. A new broom sweeps clean, but Galveston will soon be as badly off as it was before." Nevertheless those who wanted to try the plan kept insisting until finally the legislature was persuaded to pass a law giving to the cities of Iowa the right to form their own charters. Des Moines then elected a commission of five men to employ and supervise the experts whom the city needed for its work.

154. *The Commission Plan.* Thus these cities set the example of what we call the Commission Plan of City Government. It is a very simple idea and therefore easy for all the citizens to understand. The following diagram shows it in outline:



This diagram presents the essentials of the Commission Plan of city government. The voters elect the commission: each commissioner is head of a department and appoints its workers.

The commission as a whole is the legislature of the city and makes its ordinances. Then each commissioner takes one of the departments and is responsible to the whole commission for the way the work of that department is done. The five meet at regular times to talk over what the city is doing, and to advise each other. In this way they help each other to avoid mistakes, and to understand what the people of the city think of what the government is doing. This is extremely important, for it makes no difference how good a city government is if the people are not satisfied with it. The government must be careful to do the work in such a way that the people will let them stay in office. Because of this fact, it is understood by all those who study government that the management of a city cannot be efficient unless the people are intelligent.

155. A Difference between Galveston and Des Moines. The people of Des Moines were not willing to trust the commission quite as fully as were those of Galveston. They therefore provided in their charter for what is called the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. The initiative provides that the people may, if they are not satisfied with the work of the commission, themselves initiate ordinances by petition without waiting for the commissioners to act. The referendum provides that if the people are dissatisfied with any rule that the commission makes they may by petition require the commission to take a vote of the people to find out whether this rule shall be enforced or not. The recall provides that if they are dissatisfied with the work of any commissioner, they may by petition call an election to decide whether that commissioner shall stay in office or not. In this way the people can control their commissioners at all times. Des Moines has thus added a feature to the Galveston Plan of Commission Government.

156. The Plans Approved. These plans of organization were so simple and worked so well that they were soon adopted by a great many other cities. There does not seem to be any good argument against a still further spread of such government throughout the country. One reason why they have not spread farther, perhaps, is that people have tried so many political experiments that they hesitate to try another.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make a list of the kinds of work your city government has to do.
2. Does the ordinary citizen like yourself know whether or not this work is being done as well as possible? If he does not, how should he try to control it?

3. If the city government makes some mistake is that any reason that it is less well managed than it would be if other officers were selected? Is it reasonable to expect the government to be perfect and make no mistakes?

4. Is there a better way to get the work of the city done than to select the very best representatives we can find and then trust them to do the best they can?

5. Suppose Galveston had elected a large number of different department heads to restore its welfare, and had not placed a small number of practical people at the head of the government what would have been the result?

6. What effect would it have on the management of a city if the government were so arranged that each department could do as it pleases?

7. The first element of good government is to have the work done by people who know how to do it. How are such people selected in your city? How are expert and capable people persuaded to serve the city instead of taking private jobs? How are those discharged who were selected by mistake?

8. The second element of good government is to have the work done as the people want it done. Is it possible to have it well done and as the people want it done at the same time, if the people are not patient, economical and industrious themselves?

9. What relation do you think there is between good education and good government? This means education of the character as well as of the mind. Apply your answer to Des Moines when it was trying to reform its government.

CHAPTER XVII

ORGANIZING THE CITY GOVERNMENT (Continued)

157. Dayton Wakes Up. We saw that good government came to Galveston because of a great calamity which forced the people to think about the city's business. The same sort of thing happened in Dayton, Ohio, when a great flood wrecked a large part of the town in 1913. The people of Dayton had already begun to make plans for improving their city government. They had been studying the Charter of Des Moines, but the flood made it necessary for them to act quickly. They found that a commission of five men had ruled the city well and that conditions had greatly improved. They decided, therefore, to try a similar charter; but they also decided, as Des Moines had, to make some additions to it. The most important of these was to add a manager whom the commission would employ and, when occasion required, discharge. They made this decision because they thought that there should be a single head to the government who would unite all the departments and help them to work together, and who would be able to give all of his time to the work instead of only part of it as the commissioners generally have to do. The commissioners are generally men who have important private business to attend to, and they cannot leave it to give all their time to the government.

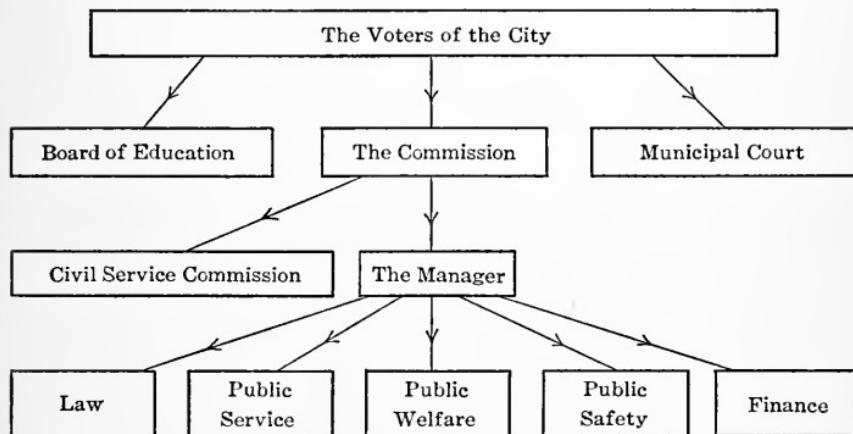
158. The Management of Corporations. The people of Dayton doubtless got the idea of such a manager from the way nearly all large business corporations are run. The

stockholders of a corporation are those who have invested money in the business. They are interested in it as the citizens of a community are interested in their city and its government. The stockholders of a corporation elect a board of directors to run the business as the commission of Galveston runs that town. Then the directors elect a manager to whom they give the complete control of the business as long as they have confidence in him. When they no longer have confidence they discharge him and get another manager. They do not interfere with the business except to advise the manager and help him. No capable man will run a business unless he is permitted to do it as he thinks best; he is glad to have advice and help, but he must not have his plans spoiled by interference. Much the same thing is true of an athletic team. The captain must be trusted to run the team on the field, or there must be a new captain.

159. Goethals and Dayton. The Dayton commissioners decided to get a manager from outside the city; but they were afraid that the politicians would insist that one of their own number be made manager. Therefore they looked around for the best possible man, one to whom no one could object. They invited General Goethals, who had built the Panama Canal, and they urged him to accept. Every one was happy at the thought of having him. He thought over the matter but decided that he could not accept because he had so many other important things to do. But by the time his reply was received the people had become accustomed to the idea of getting a capable man from outside the city, and so the commission employed Mr. Waite, a capable but unknown man from Cincinnati, without any great complaint from the politicians. He received a large

salary,—\$12,500,—and he managed the city with great success until he resigned to go into war work.

160. A Leader and Planner. It is not difficult to see why this Commission-Manager Plan of government is a good one. There is a capable leader and planner who continues in the service of the city not for two or three years only, but as long as the commission is satisfied with his work. The commission is a group of men who speak for all the citizens, doing all they can to make the manager successful; and they may remove him if he does not do as they require. If the manager is wise, he seeks their advice all the time and tries to do only those things which the public opinion of the city approves; but he plans wisely and many years in advance for all that the government should do. Every government needs such a planner and leader. From this diagram you can see what heads of departments the



This diagram presents the essentials of the Commission-Manager Plan of city government. Note that the courts and the management of education are separate from the rest of the government.

manager in Dayton appoints to help him with the work. These men form a sort of cabinet which meets with the manager and talks over the govern-

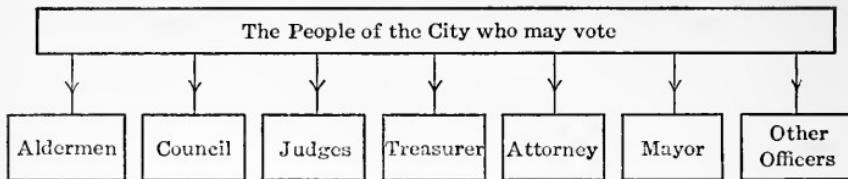
ment of the city, gives him advice, helps him to keep the departments working together, and carries out his wishes. The manager stands between the cabinet and the commission; and through the cabinet and the commission he connects the people of the city with the civil servants who do their work. The president of your athletic association could form such a cabinet from the managers or captains of your various teams.

161. Education and the Government. You will notice that there is no member of the cabinet to attend to the educational needs. The reason for this is that most people think that education should be kept separate from the remainder of the city administration. They think that the schools are so important that the people should control them directly and look out for them more carefully than for the other kinds of city work. On the other hand, there are a few who think that there should be another city department for education and that the manager should appoint this head also. Possibly this will be done after city government has shown itself to be efficient and after citizens decide to trust their officers more fully.

162. Separation of Powers. When governments were first formed in America few people trusted the public servants. Therefore many things were done to keep the government from acting quickly and easily. People thought it was better for the government to do nothing if there was any possibility of its making a mistake. Among the arrangements which they made to keep their governments from acting too quickly was to provide separate law-making and law-enforcing branches. In the National Government the president is distinct from the Congress so that he may check congressional action. The State governor is distinct

from the State legislature for the same reason. And in the older city governments the mayor is separated from the council. The mayors, governors, and the president are all law-enforcing officers. Now you will notice that the Commission-Manager Plan unites the governor (manager) with the legislature (commission) and so gives up the idea of checking the government in this way.

163. Mayor and Council Government. A large majority of cities in America have charters which are framed with the idea of separating the governor or mayor from the legislature. While a large number have either the Commission or the Commission-Manager Plan, a far larger number have the mayor and council plan. In these the mayor is elected directly by the people. He generally has a small salary and remains in office only a few years. The result is that he is not able to make plans for the city many years in advance of carrying them out; therefore, many important matters, such as developing a civic center, are very likely to be neglected. Those who believe that the mayor and council plan is best think that it is not safe to trust too much to the government. They think it should be divided so that one part will check the other and so prevent serious mistakes from being made. The people elect a council who make the ordinances. In some cities the mayor helps to make the budget as the manager does under the Commission-Manager Plan; but in most of them the council makes the budget if there is one. There are several types of mayor and council plans about which you may read in larger books on government. In a few cities the council is divided into two chambers as the State legislature is. We shall later read more about this division into two chambers and need not study it now.



This diagram suggests the long-ballot plan of city government in which the citizen must elect a large number of persons. Note that all the officers sometimes elected in such a government are not noted on the diagram. There are too many of them.

164. Scattered Powers. You will see from this plan that the people elect not only the mayor and the council but the other officers as well. By doing so they scatter the power of running the city government among a number of people so that it is difficult for the citizen to understand it all. He does not know who is responsible for things not being well done. He often blames the public officials wrongfully when they are doing the best they can. The well-meaning officers find that the work of the government is not under the management of any one person; there is no way of having all the departments work together. Such well-meaning officers often become discouraged by the criticism of people who do not understand the difficulties of government and by the fact that they cannot do their duty, and so they give up trying to do anything. Even the mayor has but little power. The council often has the right to prevent him from appointing such heads of departments as he wishes and it may frequently force him to select popular but inefficient men.

165. Three Plans. We have spoken of three ways of writing a city charter. The first is the Commission Plan in which five commissioners have full power to run the city. The second is the Commission-Manager Plan in which five

or more commissioners with full power, hire a manager and delegate their powers to him as long as he does his duty. The third is the mayor and council plan in which the power is divided among the mayor, one or two councils, and some other officers. When you are a little older you will have to do your duty as citizens in deciding what sort of a government you wish your city to have. You should therefore consider each of these plans, and, as you grow older, study them enough to decide which you think is the best. Some people say that the first two have done well only because they are experiments, and repeat the old proverb, "A new broom sweeps clean." They think these will soon be no better than the mayor and council plan. They may or may not be right. You should not form your opinions too hastily.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make a diagram of the government of your city as it is now. Put down first the people who elect representatives; then all the different people they elect for the city government alone; then divide these into departments; then show what control the representatives of the people have over the departments.
2. Make another diagram of your city government if it were reorganized on the plan used in Dayton. Put on it the size of commission you would like, the departments your city government would need, and the subdivisions of the departments which would be wise.
3. Give some reasons why the commission should be permitted to select a good manager wherever they could find him, whether in your city or outside of it. Give reasons why they should be allowed to pay him as much as is necessary to get a good manager.
4. Give several qualities that you think the manager of your city should have. Give reasons for selecting the qualities you mention.
5. Is your city permitted to make its own charter? If not

how would your fellow citizens in the city get permission to make the kind they want?

6. Go to some person whom you know and who is interested in a large business and ask him how the business is controlled. Has it a board of directors? Has it a general manager? Try to get him to help you make a diagram of the organization of the business. Then consider whether it would be wise for your city to be organized the same way?

7. Do you know any people in your city who are anarchists? Would it be fair to give the name anarchists to those who do nothing but complain about the way the city is run, and do not coöperate with other citizens in giving it a better charter or electing better representatives?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CITY'S EXPENSES

166. Service Must be Paid for. As we advance in civilization we need to have more and more kinds of work done through coöperation. Especially those of us who live in the city do a smaller and smaller number of different things ourselves; we work together so that we may have them done more cheaply and easily. We must have plenty of water, but we do not pump it from a well; we build a great water system and let the water run into the house of itself. We want to ride to business, but we do not usually keep a horse or auto; we unite in building a car line which takes us to our work quickly and cheaply. We want recreation, but we do not each have a play-ground; we unite to make a beautiful park and hire a few men to care for it. We often hear complaints about taxes in the city; but all of the money collected as taxes is used in doing things which we would have to do ourselves at a higher price if we did not pay for them with taxes. A student of government has published facts to show that the money a city collects is divided about as follows: out of about a thousand dollars in taxes, \$75 is spent for the general cost of government; \$175 for police and fire protection; \$100 for health; \$200 for streets; \$40 for the unfortunates; \$300 for education; \$20 for recreation; \$90 for water.

167. The Taxes Will Increase. We must expect to pay more and more money into the city treasury year by year. We shall learn to coöperate in more and more things, and we shall want these things done better and better. Even

our laundry could be done far more cheaply and satisfactorily if there were a great city laundry outside the residential section to which all the clothes were taken on Monday or Tuesday by motors, there washed and dried in the sun, and returned to us by motor at the end of the week. But if we are to permit our officers to tax us more and more, we must also be more careful in our control of the way they collect and spend the money. This chapter will discuss the collection and spending of money by the city so that you may give it consideration when you write your charter. Here again we can speak of only a few superficial ideas; and we speak of these only to show the need of selecting wise leaders and then helping rather than hindering them in their work.

168. What Shall be Taxed? One of the hardest questions the government has to answer is, how shall taxes be collected? On what kind of property should citizens pay? A young person would be likely to answer at once, all property. This is as natural as it was for you to say that all members of your athletic association should pay the same fee. But this may not be a wise answer. It costs more to collect taxes on some property than the tax yields. If we tax some other kinds of property the owners take it away, or even move away themselves. Therefore it is not easy to plan a wise tax system. It requires the finest kind of training and the most careful and constant attention. Remember this when you make arrangements in your charter for the selection of tax officers, such as assessors, collectors, accountants, and the higher officers who direct these.

169. Tax on Real Estate. Real estate is land and buildings. Many people think most of the income of the city

should come from a tax on these things because this kind of property gets the benefit of the money spent. If I own a city lot the value of the lot is improved whenever anything is done to make the city a better place to live in. I can sell it for a higher price or I can get higher rents if the schools are good, if the water is pure, and if the police are efficient. Therefore it seems reasonable for those who find their property more valuable to pay the money that makes it so by improving the city. Another reason for this kind of tax is that all must help to pay it. For example, if I live in a rented house, the landlord makes me pay a part of the taxes by adding to the rent. If I stop at a hotel the proprietor figures the taxes in the rate he charges me for my room. If I buy anything from a store it generally costs more on a fashionable street where the taxes are high, for the store keeper must include the taxes in his expenses.

170. **Other Kinds of Income.** Some cities get an income from the service they render; but we have already shown that the city which charges a higher price for water than it costs merely collects its taxes in the form of water rates. Yet some students of this subject think it wise to collect money for city expenses in this way. Other cities place a tax on business. In such cities the hotels, theaters, restaurants, garages, and the like, pay taxes on the business they do. This is one way of making those who enjoy such things pay a somewhat larger share of the city's expenses than those who do not. Other cities try to collect taxes on property that can be concealed, such as stocks and bonds, but this tax has been unsuccessful almost everywhere.

171. Assessments. A common method of paying for improvements in certain parts of a city is that of making assessments against the property that is benefited by the improvements. Let us suppose that a new park is to be made. The city must buy land, lay out and build streets, and plant grass and trees. Those who live near the park will get a great deal of benefit from it; those who live a short distance away will get some benefit; those at a distance will get very little benefit. The city government sends experts to study the section of the city in which the park is to be laid out and to make a map showing as nearly as possible how the benefits will be distributed. Then the property owners are required to pay in proportion to the benefit they will receive. Similar payments are made by those who own property near subway lines, boulevards, and other improvements.

172. Apportioning Expenses. To decide how much of the income of the city shall be spent for one purpose or another is almost as difficult as to find the income. This work is so important that in some cities the most important organ of the government is called the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. This is a board which estimates or finds out what the city's needs are and divides or apportions the income to meet these needs. We have seen that the payment for some kinds of improvements, such as parks, may sometimes be easily apportioned among the property owners who are benefited. But most improvements cannot be treated in this way. Some of the citizens demand more schools; others, who are less interested in schools, demand better streets; still others want better police or fire service. How shall the city government decide on which of these things to spend more money? If there were plenty to

spend, it would be easy to meet the demands of all; but there are also a large number of property owners who insist that the taxes are too high already and that the public expenses must be reduced.

173. Making a Budget. The work of deciding where to get the money and how to spend it, is called budget-making. The word budget means a *little bag*; and because the English finance officers used to carry their papers into the meeting of the government officers in a little bag, the papers themselves came to be called the budget. The word has now come to mean a statement of the public income and expenses. Cities which have efficient governments generally make up a budget once a year; and when they do so it is the great political event of the year.

174. The Manager and the Budget. A city with the Commission-Manager Plan of government depends on the manager to do most of the planning for the budget. He asks his heads of departments to give him a written statement of what money they will need, and also of what they have spent in the year just closing. From these statements he learns where increases are necessary and where money may be saved. Then he and the heads of departments talk over the whole problem together and draw up the kind of budget they think the city should have. This budget the manager presents to the commission and seeks its approval, for the law-making body must always approve plans for spending money. He explains to them fully all the city's needs; defends the increases asked for; and shows where he thinks money may be saved. If they agree, the budget is printed so that the citizens may examine it.

175. Hearings on the Budget. After the budget is printed the commission sits at times convenient for citizens

to come before them and criticise the plans. Some citizens may demand that certain expenses be reduced; others may demand that certain services be increased. Such hearings do not often change the budget very much, for the manager and the commission have studied the needs of the city and understand their business. But the citizens are better satisfied after they have heard the discussions and have had the plan explained to them. In addition to this, if the commission finds that there is a great demand for some service, such as more school buildings, they will put this added expense into the budget even if they do not think it entirely wise at the time. The government must do what the people of the city want done. The debates at the budget hearings are often between those who would save money and those who want service.

176. The City Debt. Nearly all cities have some debts. That is, they owe some money, just as all business men owe some accounts. It is wise for the city to go into debt for permanent improvements like bridges, a water system, subways, docks, and great buildings. But it is very unwise and unfair for it to run its ordinary business on credit. Some cities pay for permanent improvements by estimating how long the improvements will probably last, and then paying off a part of the cost of them each year so that the improvement will be paid for before it is worn out. In this way the city pays each year for all the service it gets. If it does not do this the people of one generation force the people of another to bear unjust burdens of public debt.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

By this time you will have formed an idea of the organization of your city government for doing the work you think should

be done by it. Now we come to the problem of finding the money to pay for it. The citizens pay for all their government does.

1. What are the expenses of your city for a year?
2. How is this money divided among the departments? How much for education? How much for police and fire departments? And so on.
3. What is the total income of your city? In what way is this money collected? How much in taxes? On what property are the taxes levied? How much from assessments? How much from other sources?
4. How much taxes does your family pay? What would it cost for you to get the things the taxes pay for, if you did not pay for them with taxes? Consider schools, clean streets, police and fire protection, parks and playgrounds, protection of health, etc.
5. Does your city government make up an annual budget? If so, try to get a copy of it and find the summary, which should be simple enough for you to understand with a little effort.
6. Who makes up the budget, and at what time in the year?
7. Who accepts the budget after it has been made up?
8. Are there any public hearings on the budget? Ask some one who has attended a hearing what goes on at the hearing.
9. Has your city any debts? Why did it go into debt? Are the debts being paid off? Are the improvements for which the debts were made still in good condition?
10. Does your family spend money for anything which could be done more economically through the city government and paid for with taxes?
11. If you owned a plot of land in your city, would you like the taxes to be high if all the money were spent in making the city more attractive to those who wish to buy land?
12. If you rent a house, what part of the rent you pay does the owner of the house have to pay in taxes?



PART III

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN STATES

CHAPTER XIX

WHAT IS A STATE?

177. **The City and the State.** The last fourteen chapters have discussed the government of a city. Now we come to a discussion of the government of a State. To understand clearly what a State is requires hard work. We can see the city clearly; its work is constantly before us. We see the men building and cleaning streets, the police keeping order, the fire engines rushing to put out fires, and the other officers busy about their tasks. But we do not see the State so clearly. To form a picture in one's mind of the business of its government is difficult. In fact it may be hard for us to see at once why there should be States and State lines. We might unite New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania into one; or we might divide New York into several States without seeing much change in the work the government is doing. It is also difficult to see what the States and city governments have to do with each other, and why it is important for the former to give the latter home rule to do its work without interference. It is a little confusing to know that you are a member of the city for some things and of the State for others; and also to remember that the city grows up out of the State like a muscle of your body with which you exercise a great deal.

178. **The Study of State Governments.** Some teachers think pupils should study the State before they do the city, because the city can be controlled by the State. But either may be studied first. We have taken up the city first because it is simpler and easier to understand. Now we shall read a few chapters on the work of the State, and then we might write a description of the kind of government we should organize to do this work. We shall find that the State makes rules or laws which some think more important to us than the city rules; that it is busy keeping the wealth of the country from being wasted; and that it does many things to make life for city as well as country people happier and better. But before we speak of the work it does we must say something about how the States came to be. This may be called the study of history rather than of government, but it will help us to understand the government more easily.

179. **American Colonies.** We have separate States because separate colonies were planted by European countries on the Atlantic coast and because these colonies changed their governments very little after they became independent. At the mouth of the Hudson River a colony was planted which grew into New York State. A colony on the James River became Virginia; another on the Delaware River became Pennsylvania, and so on. Each of these colonies claimed and ruled over the country district lying back of it. To organize a government for the colony and its district, each was given a charter (something which reminds one of a city charter, but it was for a large district and might have been called a constitution) by the English government. These charters were the beginnings of our State constitutions, as the colonies were the beginnings of

our States. There were many disputes about boundary lines as these districts increased in population, for the early colonies made claims to territories which were not very clearly marked. And so the later charters and some of the constitutions which came after them stated just where the boundaries were.

180. Independence. When the colonies grew into important communities they became tired of being ruled by the English government and wanted more home rule than they had. Disputes arose between the people in America and the governors which the English government sent out here, and finally a war broke out and the governors were driven away. The people of the colonies had declared that they ought to be independent, and that they meant to remain under the English government no longer. They fought the war so well that England decided to let them have their way; but she did this partly because a large number of the English people thought there was no good reason why the colonies should not govern themselves. These Englishmen held that self-government is a right of all people who are capable of it. Therefore each of these little colonies became independent States.

181. The First Constitutions. As soon as they were independent their charters given by the English government ceased to be law, and the States had no legal rulers. They, therefore, made constitutions for themselves. It is interesting to know that these constitutions differed very little from the charters the English government had given the colonies. The organs of government were much the same before and after the war for independence. The main difference was that the people or the legislature elected the governors instead of having them sent out from

England. In some later chapters we shall study the organization of the governments under the constitutions. The important thing at this moment is to know that the States arranged to elect rulers and to make laws much as the colonies had done; and they also said that the laws of the colonies should continue as the law of the States. For the making of new laws another change was made. The members of the upper house of the legislature, called council or senate, had also been appointed in the colonies. In the States they were at once made elective.

182. Work of the State Government. We are interested in the State government because of the work it does; and we study it to see whether it is well organized for doing this work. Therefore it is important for us at the beginning to have some idea what this work is. The seven chapters which follow this one describe different kinds of work the State does through its government. In the remaining paragraphs of this chapter the tasks of the State are suggested by way of introducing these chapters. In reading about the government we must always think of it as engaged in solving many difficult problems,—problems which can never be completely solved. As civilization moves forward and as the population increases the same old difficulties constantly take new forms and require to be handled anew.

183. Making Law. The State government has no more difficult or important task than fitting the law to new conditions. For this reason we shall devote four of the seven chapters to this problem. We have seen that the city government makes some rules, which we call ordinances. We use this name in order to keep them separate from the rules of the State, which we call law, and which we divide

into statutes and common law. Persons who live outside of the city have to obey the ordinances only when they are in it; but all persons in the State must obey the law whether they are in the city or the country. The ordinances are enforced merely to aid the working of the city government; the State law is far more important and has to do with many more things. Nearly all of our rights are protected through this kind of law.

184. Courts. Law is almost useless without courts to tell us when it has been broken and to impose penalties on those who break it. We shall see that the courts also help the law to grow in the right direction, guiding it and pruning it as a farmer cares for a tree in its growth. Some cities maintain courts for the enforcement of their ordinances, but nearly all judges we know of are engaged in dealing with State law and nearly all lawyers spend their lives working with it. Every State constitutional convention finds that it must devote much time to the problem of creating organs for making and interpreting law,—legislatures and courts.

185. Police. It is not quite accurate to say that the courts enforce the law. They merely aid in the enforcement of it by telling what it means and answering questions about it. It is really enforced by the police. We have seen that every city has a police department. Its members enforce both ordinances and laws, and it is therefore difficult to know whether we should think of its members as city or as State officers. In some places they are controlled by the mayor and in others by the governor. Out in the country where there are no policemen in uniform there are State and local officers who watch out for violations of law and arrest the violators. We call them

county sheriffs, town constables, and so on. In addition to these a few States have bodies of constabulary or uniformed police which move about on horseback enforcing the law. As a last resort the governor may call out the militia and use it as a police force.

186. Other State Work. Not many years ago people thought of the making and enforcing of law as the only work a State government had to do. Now we expect its officers to do many other things in the service of the community. We find that it is economical for us to coöperate in the study and management of many of our affairs, and that the State government is a convenient organ through which we may do so. The Agricultural Department collects information which is valuable to the farmers and sends it out to them, thus helping to keep the soil fertile and increase our supply of food and raw materials. The Health Department guides the doctors of the State in fighting disease, sending them information, advising the legislature about making laws to protect health, and helping to enforce quarantine laws. Other officers protect our forests and State parks. The welfare of those who work in factories and mines is safeguarded by State officers; and the schools are stimulated and guided in their work for more and better education. Highways and canals are built with State money; and unfortunate persons, who are unable to care for themselves, are taken into asylums and other State institutions to be cured or protected.

187. The State Government. It is clear that this little book can contain only a hint at all of these great tasks. As much as we can hope to do in our brief course is to get a view of them such as we get of a valley when we look at it from the top of a mountain. We can see how it lies,

but we cannot know much of its details. After you become older you will be interested to go down into the valley among the hundreds of workers for the community and see how they are devoting their lives to making our State a home for healthy, industrious, and happy people. If we write a constitution we shall try to arrange the government so that these public officers may be carefully selected, generously paid, and wisely protected from inefficient and selfish persons who may try to impose on them and on us.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. When was your State first settled? When was it organized as a territory? What kind of people came to it, and why did they come? When did it receive permission to organize itself as a State with a constitution of its own? Why did it become a State?
2. Draw a map of your State, putting in the principal cities, rivers, and railroads. Write into the map the principal industries showing in what part of the State they are to be found. Why were the boundaries of your State placed just where they were?
3. Among the kinds of State work mentioned in this chapter, which do you wish your State government to do?
4. In what condition would the affairs of your State now be if it had no government?
5. Ask some of your older friends why they live in your State rather than in some other. Ask them to explain to you the advantages that your State has over others.
6. If your friends think the government of your State is not as good as it should be, ask them what they are doing to make it better? Make a list of the things they are doing to make it a better organization for doing the things they want done.
7. Try to find some organizations of citizens, such as clubs and societies, which have been formed to improve your State government and to make it more useful.

CHAPTER XX

THE LAW OF THE LAND

188. A. B. C. of Law. The law is a difficult subject. Whole libraries are written about it; and people spend their lives studying small parts of it. No one person can know all the law, and none can answer all the questions any child can ask about it. We say that ignorance of the law excuses no one from obeying it. But this is partly because to obey it requires merely that we live honest, sober, and reasonable lives. It requires in most cases only what an honest man or woman would do even if there were no law or government. In this chapter we shall discuss some of the simple notions that every one should understand so that he may have respect for the law and for the officers who enforce it. These notions are about the right of people to own property, to be protected from injury, either to person or to reputation, to depend on contracts that they have made, and the like.

189. Law and the Family. Among the most important questions with which the law deals are those that have to do with the family—the relation of parents and children to one another. Because it is so important that families live together and that each member be treated fairly, the government compels all people to obey the laws that protect family rights. The husband is obliged to support the wife and children; children are obliged to obey their parents and to support them when they are old; wives are obliged to be true to their husbands and their children. Other

people are forbidden to interfere with the family or to try to break it up. It is easy for any one to obey all of these laws if he does his duty as an honest and reasonable person. Marriage may be both religious and legal; but we are now speaking only of the legal side of it.

190. Safety and Freedom. As the family is the most important institution in the world, a thing which all people would fight for if there were no government, so safety and freedom are the next. Every person now demands the right to go about as he pleases without being interfered with. The government will protect him in so doing, and the law forbids any one to disturb him as long as he behaves as he should. He must not be injured, or shut up in any place, or prevented from going about the streets, or doing anything that other people may do. It took a long time for this law to develop. There are always many people who are not satisfied with managing their own affairs; they insist on trying to make other people obey them. But the law forbids them to do this, and the government will punish any one who breaks this law. Even if you threaten me in such a way that I obey you because of fear, you violate the law and the government will punish you. You must let me alone to do as I wish so long as I obey the law. In a civilized country any child should be unafraid to go anywhere at any time; but there are still a few lawless people in all countries whom the government must watch to see that they obey this law.

191. A Good Reputation. We are not satisfied to be safe from injury to our bodies; we also require freedom from slander and libel. That is, we do not want people to talk or write about us and injure our reputations; and the law protects us from such injury. The government will punish

any one who tries to injure another by talking or writing about him. When there is a good reason any one may tell or write what he knows about another. For example, one may tell the police what another person has done; or an employe may tell his employer what another employe has done to hurt the business. In fact almost any one may talk about others if his reason for doing so is proper. But if the object is merely to injure the other person the government will make the offender pay damages.

192. Property. Next in importance is the right of property. The law will punish you if you take or destroy what belongs to me; but what do I mean when I say that something belongs to me? This is a very difficult question, and one which causes the officers of the government no end of trouble. Savage people do not respect property. They do not know what it is. We read in American history that the Indians would sell the same land to several different people. They had no law about property in land, and they did not think of any one owning it. They traveled about and hunted, and every one thought of the land as belonging to no one in particular. But civilized man thinks that the community is better off if people are encouraged to improve the land and build on it. Therefore the right of a person to property of this kind is protected by law. As civilization grows and we have factories and other complicated kinds of wealth, this law of property becomes more and more difficult to understand. To understand it is one of the most important results of the study of government. There is hardly any other thing which does more to make civilization secure than respect for the right of a person in his property.

193. Contracts. Business cannot go on unless we keep

our contracts and so the law tells us what kinds of agreements the government will compel us to keep. If I merely promise to do something for you I should do it, else I am a liar; but the government will not always compel me to do so, for the promise is often hard to prove. If, however, we write down our agreement the government will generally make us keep it. Such an agreement should tell what you have done for me to cause me to make the promise. The success of nearly all kinds of business depends on people keeping their agreements just as they make them. If you rent a house you sign an agreement to pay the rent and to give the house back to the owner in good condition. If you hire a man to do some work you agree to pay him for it. If you send a package by express the company agrees to deliver it in good condition. What sort of a life could we live if people did not keep their contracts or pay damages for failing to do so?

194. Honest Trading. The law requires us to deal honestly with our neighbors in all ways and not to deceive them. It is true that it expects one who buys goods to be careful what he buys and not to complain because he bought too hastily. Sometimes we think a thing is good and useful when it is not; but if the seller did not misrepresent it to us, the mistake is our own. If the seller lies to us about the goods we can generally make him take them back and return our money. Our government is not as careful about the matter of honest trading as it should be. Dishonest merchants who sell cloth for wool when it is part cotton and those who sell impure foods are not as severely punished by the government as they should be, partly because it is difficult to know what the seller really says to the buyer and partly because our government is still not

so well organized as it should be. We are gradually making our laws for the punishment of dishonest traders more and more strict. Some day we shall be able to punish a merchant more fully than we do now even for false advertising.

195. Nuisances. Life in a crowded place may be made unhappy by people who do not violate any of the laws which have been mentioned above. People may be so noisy that they disturb their neighbors; or they may in other ways make a nuisance of themselves. Such behavior is against the law, and the government will put a stop to it if it becomes too troublesome to endure. It is easy to see that the work of government against nuisances is not easy. Some people like to play the piano a great deal, and their neighbors may not enjoy the music. When does the playing become a nuisance? Some people like to keep a pig as a pet or to eat the garbage. But a pig pen is likely to be offensive to the neighbors. Shall the government prevent one from keeping a pig because other people do not like the odor of the pen? It requires a wise government and well-made laws to protect us from nuisances without encouraging us to find too much fault with our neighbors. A reasonable person will not be a nuisance in a crowded place; but in an ordinary community where is the line to be drawn between those who may keep animals and those who may not?

196. Law and Order. Those who violate the law in most of the cases already described will be punished only if some one complains that he has been injured. But suppose two people fight on the street, and suppose neither of them makes a complaint. Is nothing to be done about it? To prevent this sort of thing is one of the reasons for having policemen. The whole community wants to be peaceful and

orderly. Therefore the police will arrest any one who behaves badly on the street. If one becomes drunk and noisy he will be arrested. If one drives too rapidly through the street he is likely to be fined for it. We are adding many laws nowadays because the community is becoming thickly settled and because many things are now offensive which were not so in a thinly settled country. We compel all children to go to school so that they will be better citizens when they grow up; we compel employers to treat those who work for them well so that all may live wholesome lives. If some do not live reasonably comfortable lives they are in danger of becoming criminals because they may not think the government is worth while. As we live closer and closer together, law becomes more and more necessary.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Do you know of any laws in your State to protect the family and to help it to hold together? Make a list of such laws. Why is it necessary to correct the kind of people who do not do their duty by their family?
2. What laws does your State enforce to protect you from injury? Make a list of them. Add others that you think the State might wisely make. Why are these others not made?
3. What harm does a man do who circulates false reports about his neighbors? Do you think such a person is a useful member of your State. If you reported a policeman who neglected his duty would you be doing him an unkind act? What would be your duty to him?
4. What kind of property could you have if there were no law? Could you own your land or your books? Would you be willing to work if you could not keep what you produce?
5. See if you can mention two kinds of business which could be carried on for a month if people did not keep their agreements. Would you sell anything on credit if you did not know that most people will do what they promise? Could you always

depend on them to do it if there were no law to punish those few who fail to do it?

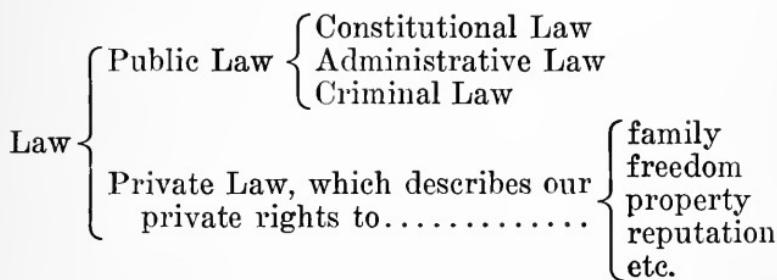
6. Your family goes into the store every day and buys food or clothes without knowing whether the goods are what they are supposed to be. Could they do this if there were no law to punish the cheat and the unfair trader? What should be done to a merchant who sells you cloth as wool, when it is part cotton?

7. If you have a friend who is a lawyer, ask him what he means by the common law. Ask him if all civilized peoples have about the same kind of law that your State has.

CHAPTER XXI

THE COURTS AND THE LAW

197. **Kinds of Law.** The student of government divides laws into kinds for the sake of convenience in discussion.



Public law tells how the government is organized and carried on, and how offenses against the community are punished. Our discussion of the organization of government deals with constitutional and administrative law. In the next chapter after this we shall consider the criminal law. In the present one we are to see how the courts are organized to protect our private rights. The average citizen has but little to do with public law and knows but little about it; but his welfare and happiness depend directly on the enforcement of private law by the courts.

198. **The Common Law.** The law which describes our private rights is a difficult and complex matter to which learned men and women devote their lives without ever becoming complete masters of it. We often speak of it as divided into statute and common law. The former is

made by the legislature, as we shall find in Chapter XXIII; the latter has grown up as custom through many hundreds of years under the direction of the courts. In most of our States much of the common law is being changed into statutes by the legislatures so that it will be more definite; but it is important for us to understand that the great rules which protect our property and our other rights are not new things but were brought over with the colonists from England, where there is still very much the same private law as we have in this country.

199. What Does a Court Do? We say that the law has grown up under the direction of the courts. It is therefore important for us to understand what the courts do with it. The law is the result of long experience; but since it consists of general principles it must constantly be fitted to new kinds of cases. For example, we have the principle that one may do what he wished with his own property; but we also have the principle that one may not make a nuisance of it. Therefore when factories began to use soft coal the question came up for the courts to decide, may a factory owner burn coal in such a way as to injure the community with the smoke? The example is used merely to show that new conditions bring up new problems for the courts to solve, not changing the law but directing its growth. To answer questions such as this judges are provided and are given the aid of such other officers as they need in serving the community.

200. Who Should be Judges? There is no more important or more highly respected servant of the community than a good judge. In his work often lies the difference between a well ordered society and one which is dissatisfied with its government. If men find that their private rights

are not safeguarded by the courts they begin to wonder whether the government is worth protecting. It is therefore of the utmost importance that we understand clearly the kind of man who should be a judge. In the first place, he must be learned in the law. He cannot make wise decisions unless he knows the history of how our rights have grown up and how other judges before him have decided cases. In the second place, he must be fearless. Many powerful people will have to appear in his court to have their suits decided, and they will try to frighten him into seeing their problems as they see them. In the third place, he must be known and respected in the community. All of the citizens must have confidence in the law, and they cannot have this if the men who administer it are not known to be capable and honest. The questions a judge has to answer are so difficult that the average citizen cannot know whether they are correctly answered or not. Therefore the judge must be the kind of man who will give complete confidence to the average citizen.

201. How Shall We Select Judges? Opinions differ as to the best method of selecting men to do the important work of the judge. Some would have them elected; others would have them appointed by the governor. Those who favor election say that the judge should be one of the people and that popular election is the only way to secure such a man. Those who favor appointment say that the learned and great men who should be judges are often not willing to run for office; but that they will serve if the governor seeks them out and appoints them. Neither method is certain to get perfect judges all the time; but it is well to know that in all the great countries of the world except America the judges are all appointed, and

that all of our United States judges are selected in this way.

202. What is a Jury? It is more important for the judge to be learned in the law than to be a man of the people; and it is generally difficult to find some one for the office who is both of these. Because it has been thought best to keep the decisions of the courts near to the average citizen, the judge is assisted in many trials by a jury of twelve citizens. This jury sits with the judge throughout the trial, hears all the witnesses, listens to the judge's opinion about the law of the case, and then helps him to arrive at a just decision. A jury is not needed if the facts are not in dispute. If both sides of the argument agree about the facts it is only necessary for the judge to decide how the law fits the case.

203. Other Officers of the Court. When important cases are tried a record is made of the entire conduct of the court. This record is kept by the clerk. If it is necessary, stenographers are employed to take every word that the witnesses or other persons say. The judge must also have under his direction one or more officers to preserve order in the court-room, and to assist him in other ways. Strictly speaking, the lawyers who try cases for clients are also officers of the court, for they are present to assist the judge in arriving at a just decision. If a lawyer becomes so anxious to win a case that he is guilty of improper conduct the judge has a right to refuse to permit him to appear in his court again; and if his conduct is extremely bad he may be disbarred, or forbidden to appear at the bar of the Court. This penalty takes his profession from him.

204. The Parties to a Suit. In every suit at private law

there are two parties on opposite sides of the argument. The one who thinks that his rights have been violated is called the plaintiff, and he makes the complaint. The one charged with the violation is called the defendant, and he must answer the complaint. It is an error to suppose that those who go to law are always enemies. They may be good friends who wish to find out what are their rights against each other. They may have made a contract and they do not agree as to their duty under it. It is much better for them to go to the court and secure a friendly settlement than to have a secret grudge against each other. Unfortunately the law is now so complicated and expensive that citizens sometimes fear to try to settle their differences in the courts.

205. The Lawyers. Because the practice of law is now so complicated, those who wish a question settled by the courts employ lawyers to present their arguments to the judge for them. These lawyers are persons who have studied the principles of the law and earlier decisions of courts in cases similar to the one to be tried. The object of every lawyer should be to see that justice is done; but dishonest members of the bar often try to trick the court into mistaken decisions. It is unsafe to employ such men, for the court distrusts them; and furthermore they are as likely to cheat their clients as to deceive the court. The better lawyers and greater statesmen are doing all they can to simplify our law and the work of the courts; but their task is difficult and we must not be discouraged by the fact that little is accomplished.

206. Witnesses. If the parties to a suit do not agree about the facts, witnesses must be called to help the judge to discover the truth. When this must be done the ability

of the judge is tested, for the courts have complicated rules of evidence and it is necessary for him to apply these rules impartially but strictly. The witnesses must be kept from wasting the time of the court by telling unnecessary things, yet they must be given an opportunity to tell fully everything that bears on the complaint. The lawyers generally claim that evidence has been admitted which should have been excluded, and that facts have been kept from the jury which should have been given. The judge must bear the whole responsibility for the fairness of the trial. If he makes a mistake in any part of it the attorney for the side which is not successful asks for a new trial.

207. Courts of Appeal. It is important that all the law of a State be administered in the same way, but this could not be done if each of the courts scattered over the State could try cases independently of any superior authority. Therefore, in every State there is one supreme court or court of appeals to which attorneys may go and ask for a new trial when they think a client has been wrongly treated by one of the lower courts. The attorney who makes an appeal goes up to the supreme court, shows what he thinks are the errors of the judge in the lower court, and asks that the case be sent back to be tried over again. The higher court examines the petition and if it seems that the judge has made any important mistake the case is sent back and all the work has to be done over again. Therefore, not only great injustice but no little expense to the public results from judges who are ignorant or otherwise incompetent for their positions.

208. The Citizen's Duty. The wise citizen knows that judges are only human and that therefore they must make some mistakes. He also realizes that many suits are so

complex that it is impossible for the judge to decide them to the satisfaction of all parties. But we must have courts and judges, and we must support them even when they seem to us to be mistaken. Our only wise course is to find the best possible way of selecting judges, to apply this method as carefully as we can, and then to support these servants in doing their duty as they see it.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. If you and your brother or sister have a difference of opinion or a quarrel you are likely to ask your mother or father to settle it. Your parent is the judge in the case. See if you can make a list of laws in your family which you are expected to obey.
2. If two citizens have a difference of opinion they ask a judge to settle the case. Describe the kind of person you would like to have as a judge.
3. Visit a court when a trial is going on and describe the work the judge does.
4. Describe the way the plaintiff presents his complaint.
5. Describe the way the defendant replies.
6. Make a list of all the officers who help the judge to conduct the trial.
7. Why are witnesses called into the case? How many witnesses are called by each side in the case you hear tried?
8. Describe the kind of lawyer that you would like to have present a case to a court for you.
9. If a lawyer is known to be a sharp and dishonest man would the judge have confidence in him? Can anyone practice law in the courts of your State, or must one have permission from the government?
10. If judges are elected in your State, who nominates them? Ask your father if he knows very much about the judges he helped to elect.
11. Ask some lawyer whom you know why he does not try to be elected judge. Ask him if he would like to be a judge.
12. Draw a diagram of the courts of your State, putting the court of appeals or supreme court at the top.

13. Ask some older person to give you an illustration of a case which has been taken up to the court of appeals.
14. Have you ever heard any one find fault with the courts of your State? Do you think the judges did the best they could in trying the case that is criticised?

CHAPTER XXII

CRIMINAL LAW

209. The Law and Our Rights. In the last two chapters we have discussed the kind of law which describes our rights. It tells us what an honest man may do without imposing on his neighbor and what rights a reasonable man may require others to respect. He may insist that his family, his property, his reputation, and his person shall be let alone. He may also insist that people keep the contracts they make with him and that they shall not deceive or defraud him. We know what it means to define a word. This kind of law defines our rights. It draws a line around each one of us. We must not cross this line or let other people cross it. If they do, they impose on us and we have a right to go to court and make them pay damages.

210. The Rights of the Community. Many of our communities have now become so thickly populated, and all of us depend so much on what each of us does, that we are not always willing to wait for those who are offended to bring the offender into court for trial. Many hundred years ago people may have been willing to do this, but long before American history began there were officers of the State who would arrest a man who injured another whether that other asked to have him arrested or not. It was recognized that keeping the peace is an interest of the whole community. When the West was first settled there was little government, and desperadoes fought each other

on the streets of the little towns. Many citizens were law-abiding but so long as the desperadoes did not hurt them they let the fighting go on. Finally these law-abiding citizens thought it was time to have government and to preserve order. They therefore formed vigilance committees and hanged some of the desperadoes. This was one kind of government, though not the best kind. In our time the regular government of the State preserves order for the same reason that this vigilance committee put an end to the desperadoes.

211. Kinds of Crimes. A crime is any act which the State will punish because it disturbs the general welfare of the community. There are many kinds of crimes, and as the community becomes more and more densely settled the number of acts which the government will punish increases. Stealing, burning houses, robbing, assaulting, killing, and so on, have been punished as crimes for hundreds of years. In more recent times bribing, cheating, and conspiring to injure have been added to the list. Still more recently the State has begun to treat as criminals those who sell unwholesome food or cause their employes to work in dangerous or unsanitary places. The dictionary will tell you that great crimes are called felonies, and lesser ones misdemeanors. Large books have been written on the criminal law, and there are long lists of criminal acts of greater or less degree, but we need not study these. The person who treats his neighbor fairly is not likely to find that he has committed a crime. This law like the other kinds requires merely that one act reasonably and justly.

212. Crime and the Organs of Government When you try to write a State constitution one of the most important things you will consider is the selection of officers to detect

criminals, capture them, and bring them to trial. Many constitutions provide that the governor shall enforce the law, but some of them give him but little power to perform this duty. We shall see more about this when we come to the chapter on State constitutions. If the governor cannot appoint and remove the higher police officers it is doubtful whether we should expect him to suppress crime. The next few paragraphs describe some of the officers whose duty it is to aid him in making the State peaceful and safe.

213. The Attorney-General of the State. The governor should be the head of the whole State government; but even if he knows the law he has no time to attend to all the work of enforcing it himself. Therefore every State has one high officer whose particular duty it is to punish criminals and to represent the State government in all kinds of law suits. He is usually called the attorney-general. Many people think this officer should be appointed by the governor as a member of his cabinet; but in some States he is elected by the people and so does not always work in harmony with the governor. Under a constitution which permits this condition of affairs the citizen does not always understand that the governor is not to blame when great criminals escape punishment. The fault is not with the governor, but with the people who fail to make a proper constitution.

214. District Attorneys. It is plain that the one attorney-general cannot expect to bring to trial criminals all over the State. Therefore we find the State divided into districts, and an attorney in each one of these. They are sometimes called prosecuting attorneys, sometimes district attorneys, and sometimes State's attorneys. But they all do the same kind of work. There is usually one such at-

torney for each county, and it is his particular duty to let no criminal in his county escape punishment. Some people think these officers should be appointed by the attorney-general so that he may keep the work of the State going regularly; but they are generally elected by the people of the county. They may in some States be removed from office by the governor, but this power is seldom used. They are generally left to do their duty as they see fit.

215. Sheriffs, and other Officers. In every county there is also a sheriff whose duty it is to help the district attorney to enforce the law. He is a police officer who catches the criminal, keeps him in jail, brings him into court for trial, and after conviction takes him to prison. There are also deputy or assistant sheriffs and constables who help him to keep order and catch criminals. In a few States, such as Pennsylvania and New York, there is a regular State police force called the constabulary, which does not belong to any county, but goes about over the State wherever it is needed. These State policemen have been found exceedingly useful because they are trained men with efficient discipline. Most constables and sheriffs are mere citizens who hold office for only a few years and so cannot know much about the business of policemen.

216. Grand Juries. It is a disgrace even to be accused by a public official of having committed a crime. If one is tried as a criminal, even if he is innocent, the people of the community do not forget it very soon and his reputation is badly injured. Therefore every effort is made to protect honest citizens from this disgrace. For this purpose grand juries are provided. In most States no one may be brought to trial for a serious crime unless he has been indicted by a grand jury, which is a body of six to twenty-four highly re-

spected citizens. If the attorney for the State thinks that some one has been guilty of a crime he takes the evidence before a grand jury and asks for permission to begin the trial. If the jury, after hearing the evidence, think the accused man may be guilty they tell the attorney to go ahead with the trial. They are then said to have indicted the accused. The grand jury should not be confused with the petit jury which helps the judge in a trial.

217. A Criminal Trial. It is better to let some guilty people escape than to punish one who is innocent. Every protection therefore is given to one who is accused of a crime, and it seldom happens that an innocent man is punished. In the first place there must be a jury of twelve citizens, and these twelve must all agree that the defendant is guilty. It is not necessary for him to prove that he is innocent. In fact, if he is set free this is no proof that he is innocent; the State has merely been unable to prove that he is guilty. If he is too poor to hire a lawyer the court appoints one for him and the State pays the fee. If there are any mistakes made in the trial he may appeal to a higher court; but if he is found not guilty the attorney for the State cannot appeal however many mistakes may have been made. If he has been once acquitted he cannot be tried again for the same crime even though new evidence is found which might prove him guilty. In fact many people now think that we give the accused too great an advantage. Even if we were a little more strict the accused person would not be in grave danger, for the governor in most States has the right to pardon a man who seems to have been convicted unjustly. Another protection the accused has is the right of *habeas corpus*. This gives the friends of an accused person the

right to demand that he be brought to trial promptly and not kept in prison a long time before he is tried. If the crime is not too great, he may be released on bail.

218. The Citizen's Duty. The State has all of these officers to prevent and punish crime, but they cannot do their duty unless they are constantly supported by the citizens. It is the duty of every one to report a crime promptly to the police or district attorney, and to act as a witness if necessary. The officers are working for the citizen, and it is silly to employ them and then not help them do the work for which they are employed. The man or woman who helps a friend to escape after he has committed a crime is a traitor to the community, and may be punished by the courts for thus betraying his law-abiding neighbors.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Did you ever hear of an industrious, sober, kind man being arrested for a crime? Have such men any reason to fear the law?
2. Describe several kinds of persons who commit crimes, in so far as you yourself have heard of crimes being committed.
3. Since a large majority of the people of your State wish to live peaceful and just lives, is it not reasonable for them to combine and hire policemen and other officers to compel every one to leave his neighbors unmolested and to keep the peace?
4. How is the attorney-general of your State selected? Would you like to see him appointed by the governor? Why?
5. How is the district attorney of your county selected? Would you like to see him appointed by the governor? Why?
6. Has your State a body of State police called the constabulary? If not, mention some reasons why such a police force would be useful.
7. What other officers help in your neighborhood to detect crime and punish criminals? How are they selected and removed from office?

8. Ask some older friend to tell you of some one who serves on the grand jury, and find out what kind of a man he is. When does the grand jury meet in your neighborhood?

9. What would you think of a citizen who knew that a crime had been committed and yet did not report it to the police?

10. When a neighborhood becomes more and more densely settled and people have to live closer and closer together, is it likely that the number of acts punished as crimes will increase? Why?

11. If a dairyman sells milk which he knows came from a diseased cow, should he be punished as a criminal?

12. If a person drives an auto rapidly through a crowded street and runs over some one, should he be punished as a criminal?

13. Is it the juror's duty in a criminal trial to decide according to the law, or according to his sympathies?

14. Is a juror who clears a criminal because he feels sorry for him a good citizen? Why?

CHAPTER XXIII

LEGISLATION

219. Law Grows out of Custom. We have seen that the law takes a long time to grow. Because most of us wish to do everything today and tomorrow in the same way we did it yesterday, we form habits that change very slowly. We have habits of thought as well as of action. But we do gradually change our ideas and we do wish new things done. For many hundreds of years it was customary to have all the hard work of the world done by slaves who were treated like beasts of burden. But gradually people began to think that human beings should not be treated like beasts and that slavery should be abolished. This could not be done without changing the law about the rights of persons. More and more people formed the habit of thinking about all people as having the right to be free; and this habit of thinking prepared the way for laws protecting personal rights.

220. Judges are Conservative. It is the duty of the judges to enforce the law just as it is. Therefore they resist changes, and they should resist them. You will remember that American history tells about the Dred Scott case, where the Supreme Court of the United States resisted the notion that all men have a right to be free. They rejected the petition for the Negro, Dred Scott, according to the law as they saw it. We should not be too severe in

our criticism of them, for they were trying to do their duty. But because the law was so slow in changing on this subject the great Civil War was fought between those who wished to change it and those who did not. The two sides were unable to agree peaceably to a change of the law. There were other causes of the war, but this was the main one. A large part of what we call politics is a struggle between those who wish the law changed and those who do not.

221. The Law of Property. There are few matters of law more important than that about property. It decides what belongs to us and what does not. Most men and women are willing to fight very fiercely about their property. Some fight with weapons and others through polities; but the struggle in either case is a hard one. We hear much about the law which makes employers responsible for injuries to those who work for them. In many States there is now a rule that a man who is hurt in a factory must be supported while he is unable to work; and that the money for his support must be provided by those who own the factory. This means that part of the property of the factory owner must be taken and given to the workman. Of course the factory owner does not like this. He holds on to his property and is opposed to any law which takes it away from him.

222. The Law of Liberty. We have seen that the law has developed in such a way that there is no more slavery. Any one may work when and where he can find a position. And any one may make a contract to work for any employer who will hire him. But we now think this right should be checked a little. We think that it injures the community for children to work in factories. Some parents

are willing that their children work and support them even if it injures the child. We are sorry for parents who are poor, but we cannot let children grow up into weak and incapable citizens. Therefore the law of liberty is being changed so that children will not be allowed to work when they are too young even if they wish to. They must go to school and have a chance to exercise out of doors. But those who wish to employ children at small wages oppose this law and try to keep it from being enforced.

223. Legislatures Fit the Law to Public Needs. Because it is difficult for the judges to keep the law abreast of public opinion, we have legislatures or law-making bodies. It might be better to call them law-changing bodies. A legislature is a body of citizens whom we elect to look into the State law and change it when necessary. The legislature meets at the capital of the State every year or every other year, talks over the condition of the State, and if it finds that it is advisable to make changes in the rules we live under it changes them or makes new ones. It is like a parliament or a congress. We may call it by any name we wish; but it is in fact a body of men who, under strict parliamentary rules, discuss what changes should be made in the laws. Because our constitutions are not always wisely written and because voters are often careless, our State legislatures are not always composed of the wisest men in the community. We elect members for so short a term that able men are often not willing to interrupt their work to serve as legislators. Citizens do not always take the trouble to elect the best men, and they frequently fail to keep able men in the legislature after they are once elected. It is easy to see that those who

change the law under which we must live should be the very wisest and most experienced men we can find.

224. Dividing the Legislature in Two. All of the American State constitutions divide the legislature into two houses. One is generally called the senate and the other the assembly. The senate is called the upper house. The word senate is derived from a Latin word meaning an old or experienced man, and the word assembly is easy to understand. The members of the senate are generally elected for a longer term than those of the assembly; for example, the assembly for one year and the senate for two. Besides this, there are fewer senators and therefore they are elected from larger districts. In New York there are three times as many members of the assembly as of the senate. Those who write constitutions divide the legislature into two houses because they think the law will be more carefully made if it has to be debated and passed twice. Every new law has to be passed by both houses in exactly the same form. Those who think there should be only one house say that this plan of two houses delays the making of good laws. This is a matter to be considered carefully in writing a constitution.

225. Proportional Representation. The members of the legislature act for those who elect them,—that is to say, they represent the citizens. Most constitutions divide the State into districts and direct that one member shall be elected to the legislature from each of these districts. In this way it would be possible for one party to elect all the members. If the stronger party has a majority of one in each district the weaker cannot elect any members, and so those who belong to the latter party have no representation. Some people therefore believe an arrangement should be

made to have members elected in proportion to the size of each party. They think that if one third of the people of the State belong to a party, then one third of the members of the legislature should also belong to that party. Their plan is to have large districts and to elect several members from each. Then instead of each citizen voting for one member, they would let each cast as many votes as there are members to be elected from the district. If there are five members, a voter may vote for five members or five times for one member. In this way a minority party may elect at least one member from a list of five by all casting all their votes for the one candidate.

226. The Governor's Veto. We have seen that those who do not wish the law changed too easily have arranged for the legislature to be divided into two houses. They have also written into most of the State constitutions the rule that the governor may veto any change. This means that he must sign every law passed by the legislature before it can be enforced. But if he refuses to sign it and if the legislature can then pass it again with a two-thirds vote in both houses, it will then be enforced whether the governor signs it or not. There are some exceptions to this rule. One is that if the governor does not send the bill back to the legislature within a certain number of days with his reasons for not signing it, it then becomes a law even without the two-thirds vote. The idea is that not only both houses, but also the governor, must approve the new law. This arrangement guards against mistakes, but it also makes it difficult to make useful changes in the law.

227. The Courts and the Constitutions. In America the courts also have much power over the making of new laws. In our constitutions we forbid the legislature to

make certain kinds of law. For example, we forbid them to make any which prevent a man from having whatever religion he wishes. Now if the legislature makes a law which some one thinks is in violation of the constitution, a citizen may refuse to obey it. If the officers of the State try to enforce it, he may ask a court to decide whether the law shall be enforced or not. The judges then have the right to say whether the law violates the constitution or not. If it does, it is not a law in spite of what the legislature and the governor may think. This gives the judges great power and is another reason why we must be extremely careful what kind of judges we choose.

228. The Governor's Message. The governor has a right to send a message to the legislature asking it to make laws on any subject that he thinks is important. Of course the legislature is not obliged to do what the governor asks. But in England the head of the government has time set aside when the Parliament must debate the things he recommends. Some think the governor of the whole State knows better what is good for the whole people than do the members who come from little districts. Besides this, the governor controls many departments, and so he knows what the work of the State needs, and therefore is a good person to advise the legislature what is wise for it to do.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Has the legislature of your State two chambers or one? Why? For how long are the members elected? How frequently does the legislature meet? How many members has each chamber?
2. Try to draw a map of your State senatorial district. Then draw on the same map the district from which you elect a member for the lower chamber of your legislature.

3. Try to find out what sort of man represents you in each chamber. What is his business? How long has he been in the legislature? Does he stand for the things you and your friends admire? Who nominates him?

4. Make a list of the laws passed recently by the legislature which affect you in any way. Ask some older person to help you to do this. Do you think these are good laws?

5. Do the people of your neighborhood think the legislature should make laws on some important matters which have been neglected? What are these matters?

6. If you think a law should be made to prevent the fast driving of automobiles, try to write out such a law, and see if it is easy to do it without doing injustice to the careful driver.

7. Has your State a compulsory education law? See if you can find out when it was passed, and who persuaded the legislature to pass it.

8. Are there people in your neighborhood who do not seem to you to be represented in the legislature? How would it be possible to arrange the government so that their ideas could be represented when new laws are made?

9. Make a list of the laws that you know about. Then mark with a cross those which you think have been laws for a long time, and with a circle those which have been made because of new conditions such as factory work.

10. Read a message from your governor to the legislature in your State and see if he asks for new laws.

11. Read the newspapers and see if new laws are demanded.

CHAPTER XXIV

CONSERVATION BY THE STATE

229. Work of the State Government. The most important work of the government is to enforce the law. If it is not enforced we have anarchy, and where there is anarchy no one is safe from thieves and bullies. It is very important to have a community in which people will work. Unless we work we must starve. But people will not work if they are not certain of being able to keep what they work for; therefore where there is anarchy people suffer from hunger and cold. In a happy State there must be a strong government which selects wise men to compel all to obey the law. The last four chapters have spoken of the way the law is made, interpreted, and enforced. In this chapter and in the two which follow it, we discuss other work that the State government does. There is not time enough to say very much about this work. But enough will be said to show how important it is to find a way of selecting able and well trained men and women to serve the community.

230. Conservation. The word conservation means taking care of things. It means much the same as preservation. Those who have more fruit than they need in the summer preserve some of it for the winter; this is a work of preservation or conservation. The work of the State government for the preservation of the good things we have is so important to the people who will live a hundred years from now,—our children and our children's children,

—that we must plan for it very carefully. This work may be compared to city planning. It does not do us very much good in our own time. Some selfish people object to the State spending money for conservation because they do not care what happens to other people after they themselves are dead. But fair minded people think this work should be well done, and they are willing to help the government to do it.

231. Kinds of Resources. All of our living comes out of the water, the land, or the air. Probably there will always be enough air; but the people of the world are increasing so rapidly that to have enough land and water is coming to be a serious problem. Most of the work we do is part of the task of getting food, fuel, shelter, clothes, and other things out of the land or the water or the air. The farmer, the miner, the herdsman, the fisherman, the hunter,—millions of workers are busy every day collecting the wealth of the world for use; and we are all consuming it as fast as they collect it. A large part of the work of government is to protect people in this task and to encourage those who do it well; but another part of its work is to conserve the supply of wealth so that future generations will have something to work with.

232. Water for the Home. When we studied the government of the city we saw that even a supply of drinking water might possibly be hard to find for the people who live in crowded places. The supply of good drinking water is limited, and cities are growing so near together that it will soon be necessary for the State governments to tell each city how much water it may have and whence it is to take it. As the State becomes more thickly settled it will be necessary for us to have stricter laws about the use of

land near the places whence drinking water comes in order that it may be clean and wholesome. In New York there was recently a long dispute between the city and the State government over a plan to place some hospitals where they would drain into the city water supply.

233. Water for Agriculture. Some States have insufficient rainfall and must depend upon irrigation for their crops. The supply of water for this purpose is often very small, and crops cannot be grown unless this supply is carefully saved and distributed. So long as a State is thinly settled it is possible for a few people to get possession of the streams as private property. When the population increases these people naturally think that the State should protect them in holding this property even though it has become very valuable. But others think that the things which nature gives must not be held by private individuals when the community needs them. It would have been wiser had the State governments taken control of the water supply earlier; but we are all wiser after a thing has happened than before. This paragraph cannot tell how the water for irrigation should be handled, for it is a large and difficult question. It can only call your attention to the need of a wise and strong government to manage such affairs.

234. Water for Power. The supply of coal and wood for fuel is decreasing rapidly. We do not know how much oil may still be found. But when wood, coal, and oil are gone, the world may have to depend upon water power changed into electricity to run the machinery and to supply light and heat. A great force like Niagara Falls may save millions of people from cold and darkness and may run hundreds of factories. It is said that a plan to get drinking

water from the mountains to San Francisco will give power enough from the flow of the water down the hills to pay for all the cost of the city water supply. It is important for the State governments or the government of the United States to do two things; first, to see that no carelessness dries up the supply of water; and secondly, that private individuals do not get such control of it that the community will have to pay them large prices for it later on.

235. **Forests.** The subject of forests is brought up just after that of water because the water supply cannot be saved unless we save the forests. Water power comes from the streams flowing steadily down the hills all the year. This means that it must not run off too rapidly when it first falls as rain. The forests on the mountains help to keep it from running off rapidly. It soaks into the ground at the roots of the trees, and trickles through the soft earth to springs, and so remains for months. It neither runs off rapidly nor dries up. But if the forests are cut or burned off, the hard rains wash the earth away, no leaves fall to restore it, nothing is left but the rocks. We are tempted to cut the forests off rapidly to sell the lumber, and this has been done in many places. But a wise government generally forbids this, and when it does permit all of the trees to be cut it provides for reforestration; that is, it helps to plant new trees so that the forests will grow again before the soil is washed away. All of this work requires foresight and planning, and it also requires the employment by the government of men who have been educated to care for forests. These men should be kept in office as long as they give faithful service, so that they may be able to carry out the plans they make.

236. **The Land.** Some people believe that the end of

civilization finally will come because there will be so many people in the world that the land cannot grow enough food to keep them from starving. There does not seem to be much danger of this, but there might be if our agricultural departments did not use scientific methods to save the land for the use of future generations. If the forests on the hills are cut off, not only is the water supply ruined, but the fertile soil on the hill sides is washed away and nothing but bare rocks is left. Even the land in many valleys becomes less useful because the water for irrigating them fails. The government must save the land by saving the water; but it must also teach people to farm the land in such a way that it will continue fertile. Those who teach farming know that it exhausts land to grow the same crop on it year after year. But uneducated farmers do not know it, and so are in danger of destroying their own property and the future welfare of the State at the same time. The community must help the farmers to learn how to save their land from destruction.

237. Other Kinds of Wealth. In the earth are great quantities of minerals. These should belong to the community, but one way of having them brought out for our use is to permit those who mine them to make a profit from their work. Men will not work unless they make something by it. Therefore we permit those who find the minerals to dig them out and sell them as if they had made them. But some miners dig wastefully. When they dig coal they take out only the part that is easiest to get, leaving the rest and so ruining the mine, for the remainder is harder to get at after this wasteful mining. In the long run it is cheaper and better for the minerals to be mined completely at one time. The government must have officers trained

in mining, who will help the legislature to change the laws so that mining will be wisely and economically done. Another kind of wealth is the wild animals. When the fish in our waters, such as salmon, trout, and the like, are gone it will be almost impossible to get them back. The same is true of our birds. We need wise leadership in saving these things; but we cannot have it unless we maintain a government which will employ men and women who have studied animal life and who are interested in saving it.

238. The Duty of the Citizen. Our first duty is to obey the laws of conservation ourselves; our next is to help the State officers to catch and correct those who fail to obey them; and our third is to elect officers who know what the community needs and who will try to save our resources for the people who are to live after us. Such officers must be efficient and honest men and women. What we commonly call politicians are honest enough but they are too seldom trained to do this difficult work. The work of the world cannot be done merely by being willing to do it; the workers must have training and ability.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make a list of the natural resources of your State, such as land, minerals, water-power, forests, etc. Try to indicate on an outline map where these are to be found.
2. What does your State government do to conserve these resources? Through what departments of the government is each kind of resource cared for?
3. Has your State a department of agriculture? If your school has none of its literature, write to the department and ask for some of it.
4. Has your State a department of mines? Of forestry? Of fish and game? Of natural parks?

5. Who appoints the head of each of these departments?
6. What sort of expert and trained persons will each of these departments need to do its work well?
7. In what resource of your State are you particularly interested? Why are you interested in this? Mention some particular thing that the State government is doing to conserve this resource for the use of future generations.
8. Are the sources of any large rivers in your State? Are these sources protected by the State, or are persons permitted to cut off the timber without replacing it?
9. Are there any great water-falls in your State which might be used for power? Are they privately owned? Is there any water power being used near your home? For what is it used?
10. As you pass along country roads observe whether the soil is being washed from the hills because of careless farming. How can this be prevented? If you do not know write to the department of agriculture and inquire.
11. Is natural gas being used in your neighborhood? If so, can you give an illustration of its waste? How can the waste be prevented?
12. Are there any fisheries in or near your State? Is the fishing done in a way that is likely to exterminate the fish?

CHAPTER XXV

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

239. The Reason for this Chapter. In the last chapter we discussed the work the government does to save our resources for future generations. In this one we shall discuss its work in aiding us to use some of these resources for ourselves. We shall start out with two ideas: The first is that industry and business are necessary for our welfare; the second that neither of these can be carried on successfully unless we have a strong and efficient government. The government must protect the men and women who work so that they may be free from disturbance and that their working conditions may be wholesome. It must protect honest business men from fraud and deceit in order that they may trust those with whom they deal. All must be given an opportunity to keep and enjoy the products of their labor or the money for which they sell these products.

240. What is Industry? Industry is all the work which those do who prepare the raw materials of the world to satisfy our bodily needs. The farmer, the miner, the fisherman, the herdsman, the trapper, the lumberman, the fruit-grower,—all of these spend much of their lives getting out the raw materials of the earth. The miller; the tanner; the canner; the packer; the manufacturer of cloth, hats, shoes, furniture, utensils, machinery, and a hundred other things, all spend their lives getting these raw materials

ready for use. When we read the fifth chapter of this book we saw that each family used to try to do many of these things for itself, but that now since the Industrial Revolution and the coming of the division of labor we no longer do this. Instead, each of us selects some one kind of work and does that as well as possible, exchanging our products for those of other workers in other industries. Consequently we are all greatly dependent upon each other and must make laws to insure justice and right in our dealings with each other.

241. **What is Business?** By business we mean the exchange of goods which have been produced by industry. Let us see what the business man does and whether he is a useful member of our State and country. The farmer in Minnesota raises wheat to be shipped to all parts of the country. The shoe manufacturer of Massachusetts, the fruit-grower of California, the trapper in Alaska, the fisherman on the coast, the coal miner of Pennsylvania,—all produce as much as they can of their goods. When you go to your dinner table today count over the things you are using,—clothes, furniture, kinds of food. Who attends to having just enough of these things in your city at the right time? If you have too much there is likely to be waste; if too little there is suffering. Petrograd in Russia starved in the winter of 1918-1919 while farmers had plenty of wheat. The crops of the farmer suffer because he has no machinery ready for his use while the machinists at the factory are out of work. Many people have a little money saved which they would like to invest for the interest it would yield. Other men would like to start factories going but they cannot borrow this money. Now the able men and women who plan and carry on the exchange

between all of these different kinds of citizens are called business men and women.

242. Economics and Government. The study of business and industry is called economics. We are engaged in the study of government and we cannot give much time to the interesting topics mentioned in the last two paragraphs. But if we are to have confidence in our government and its laws we must understand the service it renders to us. Its service in aid of business and industry may be briefly suggested in this chapter through some discussion of the government's efforts to make the handling of capital more easy, and to keep transportation efficient.

243. Capital. Capital is what the community has saved and is using for the purpose of making our work more productive. The savage has no capital, or so little that it is not worth mentioning. The laws of property encourage us to accumulate capital, for they make it possible for one to save this year with the certainty of getting profit next year from what he has saved. The simplest kind of capital is seed grain carried over from this year's harvest to next year's seed time. Then come tools that we make this year in our spare time to use in next year's work. When we began to use money we saved a part of our wages in order to buy implements. A group of farmers unite their capital for the purchase of a threshing machine. Some business men give all their time to collecting the savings of other people, paying them interest, and lending the money to those who carry on industry so that more implements may be bought by them. Some of these men are called bankers. Thoughtless people use all they produce each year; but if all of us did this civilization would not progress. Our

business and industry rest on a wise protection of property through law, which encourages us to save capital.

244. Honesty and Business. You and I would not lend our money to the bankers unless we could trust them to pay it back with interest. And the banker would not lend it to the factory owner unless he could be reasonably certain of its return. All business depends on the fact that people are honest and keep their contracts. Now and then we have a panic. This means not that money is scarce or that there is no work to do; it means that people have lost confidence in their neighbors, and fear that they will not or cannot do what they agree to do. One dishonest or unreliable man can throw the business of a whole community into confusion, for business rests on a constant chain of borrowing and lending. Every one works with and helps every one else. Nearly every one is honest and reliable. But a few need to be watched and some need to be imprisoned so that they cannot throw business into disorder by making agreements which they do not mean to keep. Therefore our governments have to provide laws against fraud, and to support officers to enforce these laws.

245. Corporations. We hear a great deal about corporations and trusts and they are often called evils. Much of this talk is by people who have studied the subject very little if at all. What is a corporation? It is a group of people who have joined together to carry on business or industry, and who have obtained a charter from the State defining the conditions under which they may carry it on. If they keep to their charter they are protected by the State government. One important thing about corporations is that the members can be made to pay the debts of the firm only to the extent of the stock they have bought. These

are called limited liability firms and the arrangement makes it possible for one to put a little money into a new industry without being responsible for all of its debts. Our modern industry could not go on without something like a corporation. Of course some dishonest people now and then get control of such combinations, and it is important for the government to punish their dishonesty; but such events are comparatively rare.

246. Transportation. Many corporations are formed for the purpose of running factories; others run railroads; and still others supply telephone and telegraph service. All of these corporations are necessary for the sort of business we now carry on. When our country was developing we were anxious to find some means of using the great resources of the western plains, but no one would take the risk of building a railroad to them because most people thought it would never pay. Finally a few men took the risk. The government helped them a good deal with gifts of land and in other ways. Some of them made money and others lost it. But all of them deserve a good deal of honor for the service they rendered to our community. It requires great ability and great courage to think out plans for transportation and carry them out; and those who do it must be protected by law or they will not take the risks. Lack of government is one reason why less civilized countries have poor transportation facilities and means of communication.

247. Government Ownership of Transportation. It is wise for the government to aid the work of the railroads, steamships, telegraph and telephone in all proper ways as much as possible. But it is also necessary for it to control them in some way. Our life is now so dependent on

them that we cannot do without them. We saw, when we studied city government, that some things such as the water system or the street car lines cannot be run in competition. There can be only one car line on a street, and one water system. We called these monopolies, which means one control. We saw that many people think the city should own and manage these things. So it is with canals, roads, railroads, telegraph systems and so on. It is not economical to have two telegraph systems in a State. Therefore people say the government must control the prices charged for the service, and some demand that the government own the equipment. Whether this is wise is still a matter of discussion. If the government does not own it, we must find a way of controlling it. Your experience is not yet wide enough to enable you to have an opinion on this matter, and you should wait longer before you form one. But it is easy to see that this great work could not be carried on in a country without government and law. Even young people can see the need of order and confidence among the people if this great service is to be successful, whether it is under private or State control. We shall speak of it again when we come to study the government of the United States.

248. Highways and Canals. Our State governments have aided transportation for a long time by building roads and canals. We have compelled every one to help build the highways either by paying money into the treasury or by working on the roads themselves. This is done because all use the roads and therefore all should help to provide them. The building of highways and canals becomes constantly more expensive and requires greater engineering skill and better planning. Therefore the government needs all the

time more efficient and more highly trained officers and servants. How shall we write our constitution to secure such persons?

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Look up the word *thriftless* in the dictionary. Explain the relation between *thrift* and *happiness*. Ask older people about it.
2. If some one gave you a hundred dollars to keep and spend later for your education you would like to invest it at interest. Who would borrow it? What could he do with it so that he could afford to pay you interest on it? Would he use it for capital?
3. How could you put your money into a corporation and have the corporation pay you a part of the profits it earned?
4. What does the government of your State do to make your money invested in the corporation safe? Suppose the officers of the corporation refused to pay it back to you, what could you do?
5. If you have a friend who is employed in a trust company, ask him what the government does to protect honest trust companies from dishonest ones. Would you deposit your money with a trust company if the government did not punish the dishonest ones? Could trust companies carry on their business if people did not deposit money with them?
6. If you have a friend who knows something about a building and loan association, ask him what the association does; how you could put some money into it; how the government controls it.
7. Has your State a public service commission, or any other organ of government which controls the telephone lines, and other companies that supply the people with service? How is the commission appointed? What does it do? How can it punish a corporation which does not give honest service?
8. Has your State a factory inspection department? Does it try to prevent dangerous or unwholesome conditions in the factories? If it does, is this any advantage to the honest and fair manufacturer?
9. Does your State have a railroad commission? Who appoints it? What does it do? How does its work aid useful and honest business?

CHAPTER XXVI

HEALTH AND EDUCATION

249. Elements of Welfare. The welfare of a community depends on many things. Among them are the resources which it may use, the business and industry which bring these resources into use, and the condition of the people who use them. In chapter twenty-four we discussed the work of the State to conserve the resources so that they may not be wasted. In chapter twenty-five we discussed the aid which the government gives to business and industry in bringing a part of these resources into our homes for use. Now we come to a discussion of the service which it renders through law and officers to the people of the community in keeping them in a condition to enjoy the good things which come to us when our resources are developed. The reader must remember that this little book can only hint at this great service. It is rendered by many people and many books have been written about it. This chapter tries to do nothing more than call attention to the kind of work to be done.

250. Most Important Elements. When we discuss the welfare of a community we at once ask ourselves two questions. What is the condition of the health of its people; and what sort of education do they receive? If a family wishes to move to a new neighborhood it is likely to inquire first about these things. Some parts of the world with great natural resources are not good places to live because

the climate is bad. In such regions opportunities for education are neglected, and the community is not a good place for children. Even in the most wholesome neighborhoods the people must constantly busy themselves to keep disease under control, and to prevent the schools from being neglected.

251. The Work of the Government. Now we ask again, what is the government for? Why do we make laws and elect officers? It is to help us do the things we need to have done, and to protect those who are doing them. It is possible that most people in any highly civilized community would care for their health and educate their children without the aid of public officers; but there are always some who will be careless about these things. They fail to keep their homes clean and so give germs of disease a chance to multiply and spread. They keep their children away from school and let them grow up in ignorance, perhaps to become dangerous members of the community. We must, therefore, make laws to compel these careless people to help the rest of us in keeping the community wholesome and safe. In some communities the State government actually carries on the schools and cares for the health of people. In other communities the officers only inspect the community to see that this work is being done.

252. Fighting Disease. To illustrate the sort of things the State government may be asked to do in fighting disease, we may think of the draining of swamps in order to get rid of mosquitoes. These little creatures carry the germs of malarial fever from one person to another, and the expense of suppressing them is much less than that of an epidemic. Some States wage campaigns against the house fly, which frequents stables and other filthy places, collect-

ing germs which it takes to the grocery and the kitchen and deposits in our food. To prevent smallpox, all people are required to be vaccinated; and quarantine laws are enforced so that those suffering from the disease may not move about among their neighbors. When there was an epidemic of influenza, people were required in some States to wear masks, and to use other means to keep from spreading the disease. Every thoughtful person can add to these illustrations of the scientific methods which the State employs to protect its citizens from disease.

253. Saving Health. While we must make this fight against germs of disease we cannot kill them all. Some escape and attack us; and the way to make our health doubly safe is to keep our bodies strong and clean, and to live and work under wholesome conditions. Nearly all States have made laws to prevent people from being compelled to work under such conditions that their health is likely to break down. There are child labor laws which forbid children under fourteen years of age to work in factories. This gives them a chance to go to school and to play in the open air so that their muscles may become strong and their lungs may expand. There are laws against women working in certain kinds of occupations. The women care for the children who are to become the future citizens; and therefore the health of women is more important than that of men. But many States also guard the health of all workmen. Factories are inspected to see that the machinery is supplied with proper protective devices. If this is not done workmen may be caught in the wheels and maimed. There are laws requiring fire-escapes, ventilation, sanitary arrangements, light, and so on. One need not consider even this short list of things very long

to see that we must select our officers carefully; and that therefore our State constitution must be written so that people of training and experience will be employed.

254. Health and Education. Even with the best laws, it is almost impossible to protect the health of people unless they have some education. The ignorant will not keep their homes or themselves clean. They do not understand the reason for it; and therefore work for health must always carry with it work for education. A private association has been formed for the purpose of guarding its members against diseases. The members of the association pay a fee each year in return for which they receive advice, such as to eat slowly and not too much; to sleep with windows open; to take exercise out of doors; and to consult doctors at least once a year. They are also advised to have nothing to do with patent medicines, tobacco or other drugs. But few poor people join this association because of the expense. Should we provide this kind of advice for all the people so that every citizen may be better able to do his part of the world's work?

255. Training Children. Thomas Jefferson was one of the greatest students of self-government we have had in America. He was also one of the greatest advocates of public education; he believed that self-government cannot exist where people are ignorant. He lived a hundred years ago, and we are only now beginning to carry out his views fully. He said that every child must be given all the education he can take, because only in this way is it possible to make him most useful to the community. Jefferson held that every State should have convenient elementary schools, high schools, and a university. The children should be

promoted from the one to the other as rapidly as they are able to go on. Every child should be trained to do the particular things for which he is suited. Therefore it is necessary for each to be guided into some vocation or occupation; and wise parents will help the teachers to persuade the children to take up the training for occupations which are suited to them.

256. The State University. At the top of the educational system in many American States is a great university. Here are gathered the best scholars and scientists the State can afford to employ. These scholars collect information and publish it throughout the State so that all people may benefit by it. Some think that such scholars should also be supported at the State University to study physics and chemistry simply in order to make inventions. Their inventions would not be patented, and therefore every one could use them freely. Such a university is a great help to mankind, and is always worth much more than the State expends on it.

257. Inspection of Schools. The university also helps the cities and towns to have good schools. Professors of education and of other subjects visit the school teachers and advise them. They tell the school boards when the school buildings are not well ventilated, when the children do not have enough light, when the books they use are not good, and so on. They do this not to find fault with the schools but to give them information which has been collected at the university. They sometimes insist that the health of children be better cared for; dentists are asked to examine the teeth of all pupils, oculists to test their eyes, and other things are done to insure that each child shall grow up to be a strong and able member of the community. Where

there is no State university, the inspection may be done by the State department of education.

258. Education and Law. It sometimes happens that a city or town has many careless people in it who will not do what the inspectors advise. It is then necessary to call in the officers of the law, for the welfare of the whole State will be in danger if any part of it neglects its duty. There are also some places where the people are so poor that they cannot employ teachers or build schools. Such places the State government often aids with money and the State inspectors tell them how to spend the money which is supplied.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Has your State a department of health? How is it appointed? How may its members be removed?
2. What kind of experts are needed by a department of health? Are such experts likely to be found among the active politicians? Are the politicians likely to prefer to have such experts appointed?
3. Ask some older person for several examples of the work of your State department of health. Is this work connected with that of your city health officers?
4. Has your State any laws to prevent the sale of cigarettes to children? How are these laws enforced? Has it laws against the sale of drugs that injure the health? How are these enforced?
5. Has your State a law requiring vaccination against small-pox? How is the law enforced? Are the children in your school immune? Ask a doctor about these things.
6. Is there a law requiring quarantine for infectious diseases? What diseases are included in this law? Who enforces it?
7. Has your State a compulsory education law? Is it well enforced in your city? By whom?
8. Has your State a university? What is its relation to the government of the State? How does it get its money? What does it do for the people of the State besides conduct classes?

9. Have you a State department of education? How is it organized? How is the head of it appointed? How are his assistants appointed? Are his assistants experts with long training and experience?

10. Does your State maintain training or normal schools for teachers? What must one do to be admitted to such schools?

11. Is your school inspected by a representative of the State university or department of education? What does the inspector do when he visits the school? Does he report to any one after his visit to your city? What effect does his report have?

12. Why do you think people without any children should be required to pay a tax to support the schools?

CHAPTER XXVII

ORGANIZING THE STATE GOVERNMENT

259. The Work to be Done. We come now to the task of making a constitution for the State. Our questions or problems deal with two things. First, what is the work the State has to do? and, second, How shall we organize it to do this work? That is, what organs shall we create for doing it? We have seen that the State government must develop the law by providing courts to decide difficult questions about our rights; and that now and then the law has to be changed by the legislature. We also must have officers such as the governor who sees that the law is obeyed. We also must have officers who do work for us, who aid our efforts at coöperation. Such officers conserve our resources; aid business by providing for transportation and assisting the organization of corporations; and watch over the public education and health. For these and other kinds of work we have to provide in the constitution.

260. The Constitution and Statutes. When we start out to write a constitution we at once meet the problem, how long do we wish to make it? We shall be tempted to make it very long, and to put into it a great many things that seem to us important. But we must remember that it is possible, and perhaps wiser, to put many of these things into the statutes. We should put in the statutes at least those things that are likely to be changed frequently. If we make the constitution too complicated the people will not read it, and so they will not understand their government.

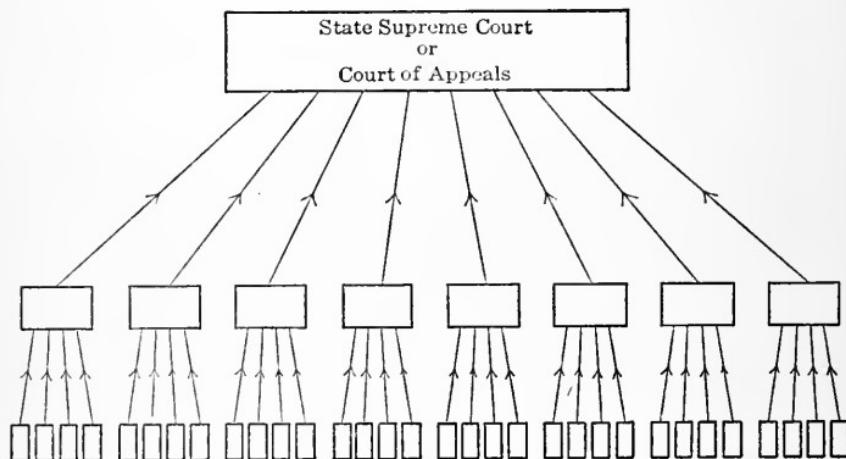
In some States the citizens put into the constitution such rules as that railroads must not give free passes. Is this important enough to go into the constitution? Would it not be better to make a statute of it? Let us make our constitution so simple that those who vote for it may understand what they are voting about.

261. The Legislature. What arrangement shall we make for changing and correcting the laws? As we have seen, most States have a legislature made up of two houses. One of these may be called the assembly and the other the senate. Do we need two houses? The members are generally elected from districts into which the State is divided. They hold office for one, two, three, or four years. The legislature meets at the capital every year or every second year, and sits for several months in regular sessions. But it may be called together for special sessions by the governor when he thinks it is necessary. Some States provide that the special session may not discuss anything except what the governor recommends, in order to prevent time from being wasted and to make it certain that the matter the governor wants attended to will not be neglected. The constitution sometimes provides just how the laws shall be passed. For example, it says that every bill must be read three times, and that it must be printed before it is put to a final vote. Other constitutions leave matters of this sort to the rules of the legislature.

262. Limits on the Powers of the Legislature. The citizens of many States do not think it safe to trust their legislature completely. They therefore write into the constitution what is called a bill of rights which says that the government must not interfere with some things, such as freedom of the press, of religion, and the like. Some

constitution-makers are also very careful about such things as the State debt. They forbid the legislature to make a debt larger than a certain amount; or to spend money in large amounts without first asking the people about it through a referendum. Some also provide in the constitution for the initiative, through which a certain per cent of the people may sign a petition requiring a vote on some new law proposed by them.

263. The Courts. An important part of the constitution describes the courts and the method of selecting judges.



This diagram suggests the arrangement of essential courts. Many States have other courts in addition to these. The lowest blocks represent the minor courts, such as those of the justice of the peace. Above these are the important courts of first instance. At the top is the court of appeals, which unifies the judicial work of the State.

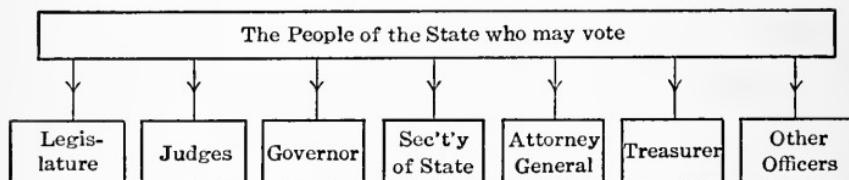
It is usual to think of the courts of the State as divided into three grades. We might almost compare them to the elementary schools, the high schools, and the colleges or universities. There are many of the first grade scattered thickly throughout the State for trying unimportant cases

such as may result in small fines or slight damages. Then there are a smaller number of higher courts, possibly one for each county, in which important cases are tried such as may impose severe penalties for crime or large damages for violations of private rights. Lastly there is one highest court of appeals which corrects the errors of the other courts and keeps the law consistent and clear. The constitution may describe each of these grades of courts and divide the cases which must be heard in the lowest grade from those to be heard in the next higher. It may also define the powers of the court of appeals or supreme court. Some think that it should forbid this highest court to declare laws unconstitutional; others would forbid it to do this unless its judges are at least three to one against the new law. The constitution also tells how the judges are to be selected,—whether appointed by the governor or elected by the people or by the legislature. In addition to these things, the constitutions of many States require a jury trial in all criminal cases and set up other safeguards for those accused of crime. These last provisions are frequently written into the bill of rights in the constitution.

264. The Governor. At the head of the government of the State stands the governor. The constitution describes his powers and tells how he shall be selected. In all of our States he is now elected by the people, but some students of government think he should be chosen by the legislature as the heads of most foreign governments are. These students think that the people know very little about the candidates for governor because they may have never seen them and because the people are too busy about their private business. The constitution also generally provides for

a lieutenant-governor, who takes up the duties of the governor if the latter becomes incapable of performing them. Some constitutions mention many other less important things in the article on the governor. Among these are the size of his salary, the length of his term, his age and place of residence, his message to the legislature, and the like.

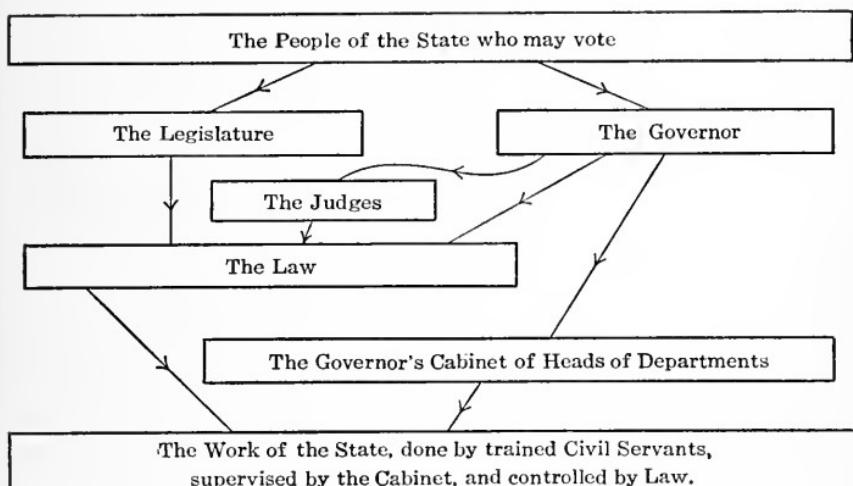
265. The Governor's Cabinet. Most of our State governments are badly organized in that the heads of departments are not responsible to the governor. These officers are elected by the people who often do not know the men they are voting for. It is therefore clear that the voters cannot act wisely in selecting them. Almost all students of government think that the governor should appoint all the other officers, and that he should have the right to remove those who do not do their duty. This would make him responsible to the people for the enforcement of the law and for seeing that the other work of the State is well done. As it is, we have no right to find much fault with our governors if things go wrong. The proposed reform is called the "short ballot"; under it the people would vote



This diagram suggests the duty of the voter under a long-ballot State government. Still other officers are elected by him in some States. Under such an arrangement the voter is bewildered and the boss appoints the public officials. The governor has but little power. Invisible government results.

only for the governor, and he would appoint such officers as the secretary of state, attorney-general, superintendent of schools, state engineer, treasurer, secretaries of health, agri-

culture, conservation, and the like. Under such a constitution the governor and his cabinet would make up the budget which is described in the chapter after the next.



This diagram suggests the short-ballot State government, the voter being required to select only the legislature and the governor. The governor appoints the judges; and the governor, legislature, and judges guide the growth of law. The governor appoints all heads of departments.

266. Civil Service Rules. The governor and his cabinet would direct and control all the officers in the various State departments requiring them to do the work of the community as the people expect it to be done. The permanent workers in the departments should not be removed from their positions without good reason, and these reasons should be given to them in writing. Such an arrangement gives a sort of protection to faithful public servants, and some people think that rules for it should be written into the constitution. This is because trained and efficient public servants cannot be secured unless they have some certainty of holding their positions when the people happen to select

incapable governors. The arrangement is not thought of because we want to keep people in "jobs," but because we want our work well done. For example, the constitution might have an article saying that all civil servants must be appointed from a list made up of those who have passed an examination set by a civil service commission. It might also say that no officer may be discharged from the service until he has had a hearing and has been proved to be unsuited for the work he has been doing.

267. Home Rule for Cities and Counties. Some legislatures waste much of their time making laws for cities, although the cities could make better ones for themselves. The members of the legislature in these cases do not know what the city needs, and often make serious mistakes. For this reason some constitutions forbid the legislature to make any laws except those which are meant to apply over the whole State. Some also provide that cities must be permitted to make their own charters. Such States provide in a general law that all city charters must be made on a general plan, but that if this plan is followed the city may go ahead with its charter-making without interference by the legislature. Some even think that counties should also be permitted to arrange their own government without interference.

268. Changing the Constitution. An important part of the constitution is the rule for changing it. Some States require that each change be passed by the legislature in two separate sessions, and then referred to the people for a vote. Others permit the people to change it through the initiative and referendum. The thing to be careful about is to prevent changes from being made without careful

study of the reasons for them or without time enough being allowed for the people to discuss them fully.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make a list of the kinds of work you expect your State government to do. Look over a list of your State officers and see what it is now trying to do. Divide this work into departments,—not more than ten or twelve in all.

2. How are the persons who now do this work selected? How are they controlled? Are they responsible to the governor? Can he remove them when he wishes? If he cannot, do you hold the governor responsible if the work of the State is not well done? If you do not hold him, whom do you hold responsible?

3. Draw a diagram illustrating the way you would like to see your State government organized into departments with heads appointed by the governor.

4. How are the judges in your State selected? How are they removed? Is the average citizen able to say whether a judge is doing his duty or not? Do you know whether a judge does his duty well?

5. Ask five of your grown-up friends if they have read the State constitution and know what it contains. If they have not read it, ask them why, since it is their government. Ask them if they do not read it because it is so long and complicated. Then ask them if it should not be rewritten so that a citizen can read it.

6. Your teacher would like to require you to learn the State constitution, but most of our States have such badly written ones that no pupil could read and understand them. Get a copy of yours and read one article and see if you know what it means.

7. Does your constitution give home rule to your cities and counties? If so, in which article.

8. Does your constitution have a rule by which it may be amended? If so, where in the constitution is this rule? Ask one of your older friends if he knows how to amend the constitution.

9. Does your constitution contain a great many things which might be in the statutes or laws passed by the legislature? If so, why are they put into the constitution? Do they make the constitution easier for the citizen to understand?

10. What does your constitution say about the governor and his powers?

CHAPTER XXVIII

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE STATE

269. Country Districts. We have seen how cities and villages are governed. These thickly settled communities have many kinds of work in which they are much interested; and the citizens sometimes think this part of the government is more important to them than is that of the State as a whole. But a large number of people live in the country. These support the State government; but they, like the city people, have some local community interests which are closer to them than are the general affairs of the State. It is necessary for them to have some kind of organization to attend to these interests. This chapter speaks of the way the country people coöperate in attending to these local matters.

270. Kinds of Rural Local Government. In different parts of the United States there are different kinds of local government, but all are near enough alike for us to describe them in one chapter in so far as it can be done in this little book. All of our States, except Louisiana, are divided into counties. The counties are divided into smaller units called towns or townships. In New England where the town government does most of the work, the citizens are particularly interested in this small division. In the South, where the county officers do most of it, the larger division is given more attention by the citizens. It is important to remember that the difference between the sections of the country in the matter of rural local government is that in

one the smaller division has more duties, while in the other the larger division has more. The same kind of work has to be done by some one in all sections. There is a third arrangement, as in Pennsylvania, where the work is about equally divided between the townships and the counties.

271. The Work to be Done. It is very difficult to draw a line between the work done by local officers and that done by State officers. The schools are better in some counties or towns than in others because the local school officers are more efficient and the citizens are more attentive in one section than in another. But the work of the State school officers is constantly overlapping that of the local government. The counties and towns build some roads and bridges, but the State also builds great highways through these local communities and helps them sometimes to build their own smaller roads. Local officers attend to the public health and provide some police officers to keep the peace and protect property. But we have seen that the State police force in some communities also aids the rural governments in keeping order. Counties and towns also care for the poor, the sick, and other unfortunates; they build court houses and jails; some aid agriculture by helping to stamp out weeds and to exterminate troublesome animals such as rabbits and hawks. All of these and many other kinds of work have to be done by some officers if the local community is to be well ordered.

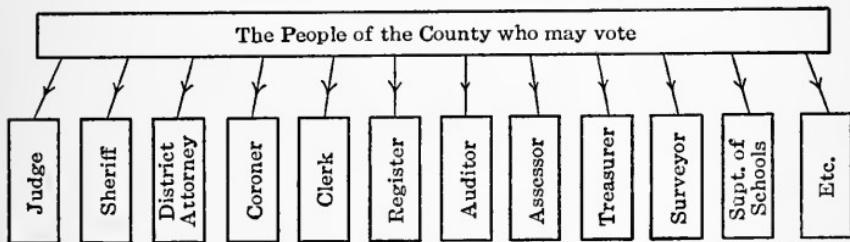
272. Organs of Town Government. The town has the simplest of all organizations. In New England its government begins with a meeting of all the citizens who have a right to vote. They assemble in the spring or autumn to talk over the affairs of the community, make rules for the general welfare, and elect officers to carry out the rules.

Their government is very much like that of a class which exercises self-government. They elect more officers, of course, because there is much more work to do. First they provide three or more selectmen who are the general agents of the town meeting. They are a sort of executive committee to do almost anything the town meeting would do if it were in session all the time. In most towns the meeting also elects such officers as the following: town clerk, treasurer, constable, road officer, school officers, overseer of the poor, and so on. The more work there is to do the more officers they elect. These serve for one or more years, and have to give account of what they have been doing when the town meeting assembles.

273. Organs of County Government. In those parts of the country where most of the work is done by the county this district has about the same kind of officers as the towns have in New England. But there is one important difference. All of the people of a county cannot assemble as they do in the town. The counties are too large, the citizens would have to travel too far, and there are too many of them. Therefore they have representative government. They elect members to a legislature variously called board of supervisors, freeholders, overseers, or commissioners. The people of the county elect the other officers as they elect the officers of the State, and not in a meeting as they do in the towns. Most of these officers are the same as those mentioned for the towns; but counties also have each a sheriff who is the police officer for the whole county, and who has also other duties. Either counties or towns have another sort of work to do which is important. This is the keeping of records about births and deaths, wills, and the sale of real estate. All land that is sold is described

in books kept either by the town or the county; and all wills must be recorded before they can be used to dispose of property.

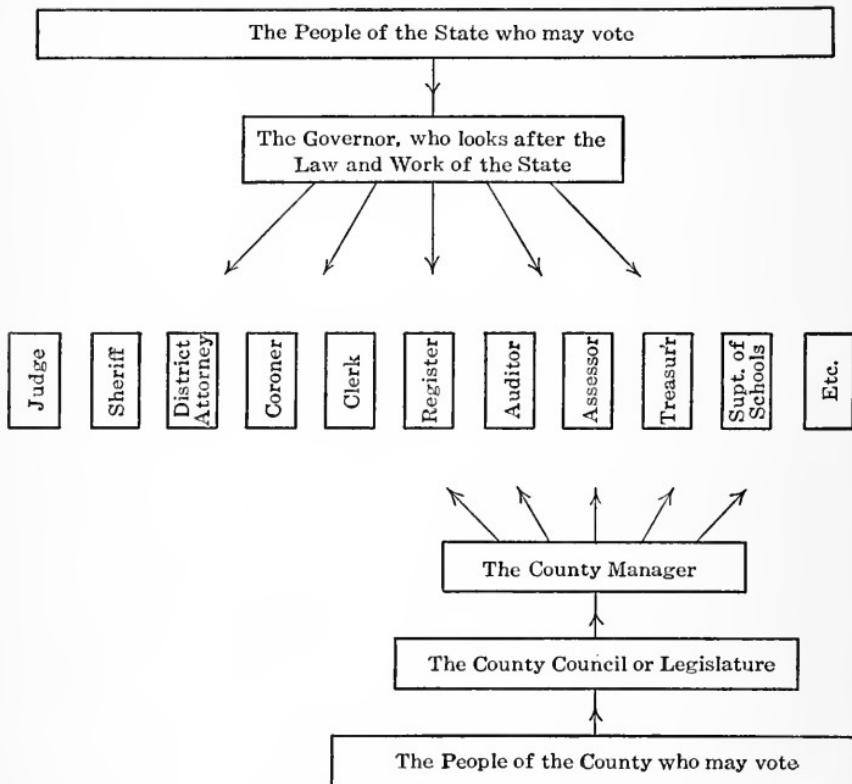
274. A Better County Government. We have seen that some cities have what is called Commission-Manager government. Many people think that the work of the county



This diagram suggests the duty of the voter under long-ballot county government. Not all of the officers are noted, but even this large number discourages the citizen from any effort to vote carefully. His task is hopeless. The boss appoints the officers.

would be better done if such an organization were adopted by the counties also. The counties now elect so many officers that the citizens pay little attention to the candidates or to the work they do, with the result that officers are not carefully selected. The students of government would have the county elect a commission of seven or more members and have this commission appoint a manager. The manager would appoint all the officers who do the county work, such as building roads, bridges, and public buildings. Advocates of this plan would have the governor of the State appoint the sheriff, the district attorney, and other officers who attend to the enforcement of the State law and to doing other things such as recording deeds, which must be done about the same way all over the State. This is a part of the "short ballot reform," as it is called. Those who ask for

this reform think that when the citizen has to vote for a long list of officers he does not pay much attention to most of the names. They find that many citizens do not know even the names of the men or women they vote for; and



This diagram suggests a short-ballot arrangement of the county government, in which the people elect only the council and the council elects a manager. Then the manager appoints those who do the local work, and the governor appoints those who aid him in doing the work of the State. The arrows do not connect because it is still uncertain which officers the governor should appoint and which the manager should.

that the voters do not understand the kind of work the officers have to do. If this is true it is clear that the officers are not now wisely selected.

275. Counties and Towns in Cities. We must remember

that the county and the town are divisions of the State, and that they have two kinds of work to do. One kind is the work of the State such as enforcing the law, recording property as in deeds and wills, and the State's part in aiding education, health, conservation, and so on. The other is the local work of the community, such as building roads and bridges, supporting schools, caring for the poor. Now some cities are so large that several towns or even one or more whole counties are entirely within the city. When this is true the city government generally elects officers to do the work of the local community. But there are still county and town officers who look after the State work. In the city of New York there are five counties with five sheriffs, five district attorneys, five recorders of deeds, and other such public servants. This condition makes the government difficult to understand, and many citizens find that they do not know what is city work and what is county or State business. Some students of government believe that when a city includes more than one county the State should organize a county with exactly the same boundaries as the city so that it may be easier for the citizens to understand their government and to elect better officers.

276. Home Rule for Towns and Counties. We have seen that some cities find it easier to do their work well if the State government does not interfere with them. In some of the most wisely governed States the constitution forbids the State legislature to make any special laws for cities. The State officers are required to permit the cities to solve their own problems. Now it seems as if the people of the counties could also work better if they were free from State interference in arranging their own government and directing their own officers. For example, if a county

wishes to have the Commission-Manager government it would seem reasonable for it to have it. Much the same is true of towns in those States where the custom is for the town to do most of the local work. This is called home rule for counties and towns. It does not prevent the State from making general laws for the whole State on matters in which most of the people are interested. But it leaves the people of rural local communities free to attend to their own local affairs. They can then lay the blame on no one but themselves if their work is not well done.

277. The Duty of the Citizen. The improvement of county and town government depends on the citizens. If they wish home rule they must try to persuade the State to give it to them. If they have it, they must see that the local government is well organized. If it is fairly well organized they must see that officers are wisely selected. Some citizens speak of the government as if it were given to them by some person over whom they have no control. They find fault with it as if they did not help to make it. They have not taken the trouble to understand how it is organized. Every government in America is good or bad, wise or foolish, efficient or wasteful, just as the citizens who live under it make it so. It is no better and no worse than the people who make and support it.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make a map of your State. Put into it your county and your town or township.
2. Does most work in your neighborhood fall to the town officers or the county officers?
3. Make a list of your town or township officers; and of your county officers. Which of these are engaged in carrying out State law; and which in doing the work of the neighborhood?

4. If you live in a city, is it as large as a town or township? If it is, what is the use of the town government? Can the officers of the city do all the work which the town officers would do?

5. If your city is as large as a county, are the county lines the same as the city lines? What work does the county have to do which the city would naturally do? Would you include in this work the registry of deeds and wills?

6. If a county is wholly within a city, does this county need a district attorney? Does it need a sheriff? Does it need a county judge?

7. Is there an asylum for the insane in your neighborhood? If so, how are the funds provided for it? Is it controlled by State, county or city officers? From how large a territory may persons be sent to this asylum?

8. Is there a prison in your neighborhood? Is it controlled by the State or the county officers? From how large a territory do prisoners come to it?

9. If you can find the time, go to the county court house and see what officers are there. Make a list of them and see if you can tell what work each does for the people of the county.

10. How would you organize your county government if you were writing a constitution for your State?

CHAPTER XXIX

THE STATE'S EXPENSES

278. Work Costs Money. We come now to the problem of organizing to meet the cost of our State government. Extravagance and waste are the price of confusion and disorder; but one must sadly confess that the finances of most of our States are in distressing confusion and disorder. This condition is not to be laid at the door of our public servants; the private citizens who pay no attention to the need of carefully organizing their public business must remember that they themselves are mainly at fault. They see the rapidly growing work of the government; they demand each year that more tasks be undertaken, such as the care of the aged, widows, and children; they expect the roads to be more substantially built and the schools to be more efficient; they know perfectly well that all of these things double and treble the public expense. But when the tax collector appears they complain about the cost of government, charge faithful public servants with dishonesty or incompetence, and neglect to make any effort to perfect an organization which will safeguard public funds. Their conduct is a sign of human weakness which may disappear as civilization progresses, but now we must put up with it as we do with the other frailties of our generation. While we do so, however, let us be looking forward to the time when our community will be wisely organized, and let us do what we can to perfect plans for that time.

279. Budget-Making. When we were studying the government of a city we found that every well organized city makes a budget each year of its income and expenses, and that in the most progressive communities the budget is made with the advice and leadership of the head of the city government,—the mayor or the manager. We found that the budget contains two main divisions,—the plan for an income and the plan for dividing the income among the departments. Let us now consider these two main divisions of the budget for the State, but as we do so let us remember that this little book can only call attention to the prominent difficulties. It cannot explain them fully.

280. Taxes. Most of our States derive the larger part of their income from the general property tax. This is a tax on all kinds of property, and those who collect it are supposed to find all the property. In old times when wealth consisted mainly of farms, cattle, furniture, and other things which could not be hidden away, this tax may have been fairly collected; but now all students of government agree that it is a failure as a means of requiring all the citizens to pay a fair share of the cost of government. Most wealth now consists of stocks and bonds, which represent money invested in industries such as factories, mills, and packing houses. Those who hold large fortunes in wealth of this kind are able to conceal their property from the tax officers and so to escape paying their share. Some hesitate to blame them if they do so when one remembers that such a badly planned tax system is always unjust, since it forces the honest citizen to support the government and permits the dishonest one to escape. Students of government have for many years been studying the problem of State revenue and have long demanded that

other forms of taxation be substituted for the general property tax.

281. Separating Sources of Revenue. In our discussion of city government we found that its cost should generally be met by a tax on real estate. This seemed to be true for the reason that this real property receives the benefit of money spent in improving the city; it increases in value whenever work is well done by the city government. What is true of the city in this respect is also largely true of the town and county. The income of local communities is spent for local improvements and so benefits local real estate. Therefore the State government may leave this kind of property free from State taxes. The State may derive its revenue from large business and the large private incomes which rest on this business. To do this the corporations may be taxed in such a way that the officers of the government need not look for the stocks and bonds. The profits of the corporations may be taxed before they are paid out to the stock and bond holders. Such property may also be reached through an inheritance tax. Many of our States now require that all fortunes pay a large per cent into the public treasury when they are inherited. Such a tax can scarcely be avoided, and it does not fall heavily on any class of persons. The worker who earned the wealth is gone and does not need it. Those who are to receive it without earning it simply receive a somewhat smaller heritage. The collection of both income and inheritance taxes might be greatly aided by coöperation between the State and Federal governments, which might prevent the holder of stocks and bonds from escaping taxation by sending them from one State to another.

282. Graduated Taxation. One of the most difficult

problems of government is to apportion taxation justly among the citizens. It is nearly impossible to solve this problem so that all of the citizens will be satisfied. The poor claim that the rich should meet the expenses of government because they can afford it. The rich claim that it is wise to have all people help to pay public expenses because then all will be interested in good government. They claim that those who pay no part of the cost have no real interest in selecting efficient legislators and governors. The present tendency is to make the tax rate on large fortunes a graduated one. This means that an inheritance of twenty thousand dollars may pay at the rate of three per cent while one of a hundred thousand dollars pays at the rate of five per cent. Some of the most radical people demand that the rate on inheritances increase so rapidly, as the size of the fortune increases, that the State will take all of the property above such a fixed amount as, for example, half a million. Such a demand may seem to be more reasonable when we have so organized our government that its income may be more wisely and economically expended than it is now.

283. Apportioning the Public Income. We have seen that the wise city government surveys its needs once a year and carefully divides the money it has to spend among its departments. This cannot be done by most of our State governments because we have no organization for doing it. The governor has no cabinet; he is not permitted to supervise the making of the budget; he has but little authority over its arrangement. If our State constitutions were more carefully written all of the departments of the State administrations would be organized under a cabinet appointed by the governor, each member of the cabinet being the head

of one department. Such a cabinet could assist the governor in determining the needs of the State and support him in advising the legislature about these needs. The governor could then be held responsible by the people of the State when the public money seemed to be extravagantly spent. But as it is we have no right to find fault with him.

284. Log-Rolling in the Legislature. Instead of a budget made by a governor with a cabinet, most of our State legislatures make a long list of separate appropriations each session. Let us see if we can form in our minds a picture of an assembly of one or two hundred men and women gathered from all parts of a State for the purpose of voting money for public expenses. None of these members is responsible for the general cost of the government. Each is particularly interested in getting some single appropriation through. Suppose you and I are members of this assembly, and suppose we meet outside the legislature and agree together to support each other's appropriation bills. Now let us multiply our agreement many times and we will find all the members ready to vote through the legislature a large number of bills giving money to all kinds of unnecessary things. I am an honest member and so are you; but we think our bills should pass. It is no concern of ours if the taxes must be large; our districts are going to be pleased if we get an appropriation for a new road or a new bridge, and they are going to blame the governor or some one else if the expenses of the State seem to them extravagant and wasteful. This way of appropriating money is called log-rolling. The word comes from the lumber camps where workmen help each other to roll logs so heavy that one man cannot manage them by himself. Is

it wise for our public money to be handled in this way?

285. Hearings on the Budget. When an annual budget is made and printed for distribution among the citizens of the State public hearings on it may be held. Those who wish money spent for any purpose may there meet face to face with those who demand that the taxes be reduced. When they meet, an argument may bring out the facts which the people should know about both the taxes and the expenses. If the governor, who is the single spokesman for the whole State, makes the budget, then he may be held responsible for both the taxes and the expenses. Therefore he will try to keep out of the budget those expenses which he cannot defend as wise; and he will try to keep the whole budget so small that the taxes will not be unreasonably high. After the budget has been made he will require the department heads to spend the money so wisely that the people will see that the taxes were necessary and just.

286. Standardized Accounting. Keeping the public accounts is a complex but important matter. So long as the heads of departments are elected separately they are not apt to meet and agree on a way of keeping the books so that the governor and other people in the State may easily understand where the public money goes. Under a wise organization every department keeps its books and its accounts in exactly the same way. Consequently it is possible for a group of citizens to hire a trained bookkeeper to examine any part of the government at any time and see if it is keeping its promise to be economical and efficient. But in a government which is not well organized the accounts are so confused that such investigations cannot be made without so much trouble that the citizen is discouraged from attempting them.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Get a copy of the treasurer's report of your State. From this find out the principal ways in which the government gets the money to pay its expenses. Make a list of these and mark with a cross those which you think are the best ways.
2. What official has charge of collecting the taxes? What other State officials have charge of collecting the State income?
3. Does the governor generally recommend to the legislature what kind of taxes should be collected and how much the State will need? If not, who does decide these things when the legislature meets?
4. If your State has an income tax, is it graduated? If it has an inheritance tax is this graduated? If it has a general property tax is it fairly collected? Ask some older person.
5. Does the governor of your State make out the budget of expenditures? Does anyone make an annual budget for the State? If not, how does the State government decide for what the money is to be spent? How does the legislature know how much each department really needs for its work?
6. Has your State an officer called auditor or comptroller? If so, what does this officer do? How is he appointed? How is he removed? If he is elected, ask some older friend of yours whether he knows the auditor and whether the auditor has been trained for his task. Ask him why the present auditor was elected.
7. Ask some friend whether there is any log-rolling in your State legislature, and whether he thinks it causes extravagance. If he does think so, ask him whether he thinks matters could be improved if the governor made out a budget for all the State's expenses at one time and asked the legislature to vote on the whole budget at one time.
8. Explain why the governor could not make out the budget very well unless the constitution gave him the power to appoint the heads of departments, and unless the work of the government were carefully divided into a few important departments.

PART IV

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER XXX

OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

287. A Union of States. We have now studied the governments of our States. We have seen that each is an organization through which the people of the State co-operate in making rules under which all must live and in doing many other things to make life safer and happier. Now we come to the study of a new kind of government, formed by uniting these States together under one constitution. The people made this union because there were a number of things which the union could do better than the separate States could do them. Later on in the book we shall discuss a union of countries or larger states, through which we also hope to do still other things on a yet larger scale. But now our task is to see clearly why a union of our States was wise and useful, and therefore why it was profitable to wage a great war from 1861 to 1865 to preserve this union.

288. Separation from England. Nearly a century and a half ago what now is the United States consisted of thirteen English colonies. But the colonial leaders became restless under the government that ruled in England at that time. Many people both in England and in America

thought that government neither wise nor just; and so some of the American colonies declared that they ought to be independent of England. It was necessary to wage a war with the Mother Country to gain independence, but the aims of the colonists were supported in this war by many of the best people in England, who felt that the rulers there at that time were dealing unjustly not only with the colonies but with the very principles of English freedom. England was at war with many other countries at that time, and therefore the little colonies were able to secure their independence and to set up a separate government of their own.

289. Thirteen Separate States. Each of the colonies became a separate little country when the war was won. It is true they were united for the purpose of carrying on the war, and their leaders intended to continue to live together under some sort of a union. But the connection was a very weak one, not much stronger than that between the allies which have been fighting Germany. Our leaders had for a long time, even before we declared our independence, thought that the American colonies should be united; but they had not been able to unite them because each colony had thought more of its separate interests than of the benefits of working together. Even while the war for independence was going on it was almost impossible to get them to help each other. They had formed a constitution called the Articles of Confederation, but Maryland for many years refused to join it because Virginia would not turn over her western lands to the government of the union. Virginia finally agreed to do this in order to get the other States to come in, which was a very fine act on her part. This is only one illustration of the difficulties.

Other colonies distrusted each other for various reasons, but the wisest leaders finally persuaded all to unite at least for the waging of the war. This union was strengthened by the fact that Massachusetts was willing to have a Virginia general, George Washington, command all the armies as the allies agreed to let General Foch command all the forces in the great war against Germany.

290. The Articles of Confederation. We now think the Articles of Confederation formed a very poor government indeed; but it was the best that could be formed at that time because the States were so lacking in fore-sight. They were not willing to give any real powers to the government of the union. It had no governor or president to enforce the laws; it had no good way of raising an army or fleet; it had no way of getting money unless the States were willing to give voluntarily. The vote of one State could prevent the congress from improving the government. It is easy to find fault with this first union; but it is better to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the little colonies did not fall apart and become separate countries which would have been in constant danger of war with each other.

291. Difficulties after the War. The war ended in 1783, and the States of America were independent and free to organize their own government as best they could. Few if any people in Europe believed that a country without a king could live in peace. Many were certain that the States would fall into anarchy and would have to join themselves again to some powerful European country. Some of the wisest people in America also feared that self-government was impossible; they were sure that the States would go to war with each other and thus bring confusion. There were many signs which pointed to this sort of anarchy.

292. Trade on the Potomac. Virginia is on one side of the Potomac River and Maryland is on the other. We are now so used to our rivers being free for the use of all the people that it is hard for us to think of two States quarreling about the way ships shall bring cargoes into them. But Virginia and Maryland each wished to control this river and to say what tariff duties should be collected on it. At that time Washington owned lands in the western part of the colonies and thought the river should be improved so that ships could use it more easily. He was a wise business man and the richest landholder in the country. But there was no government strong enough to provide for the improvement of the river. Washington was determined that this condition should be corrected and that there should be some way through which the States could coöperate. Therefore he called a meeting to discuss improving the government. This meeting led to others and finally to the calling of a convention at Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation.

293. Other Troubles. But Washington could not have got the people in other States to aid him in this plan if they themselves had not also been suffering from the weakness of the government. Some of the disagreements among them seem to us now almost like the quarrels of spoiled children. But grown people are very like children when they give way to their selfish interests. For example, the government of one State taxed the trade from other States. Connecticut and Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey, and other pairs of States were almost at war over petty trade disputes. Georgia and South Carolina had come almost to blows over trade on the Savannah River. Many of the boundaries between the States could not be fixed sat-

isfactorily. There was no money which people in all the States could trust, and therefore business was in great confusion. In this anarchy people everywhere began to wonder if democratic government was not a failure after all. There are always pessimists who hope for the worst and refuse to aid their fellow-citizens in trying to make life better through the making of good laws and the selection of capable officers.

294. Our Great Leaders. George Washington is called the Father of His Country. Some people call him this because he was the leader of our armies in the war with England; but he deserves the name much more because he was the leader in our war against anarchy and confusion. A great general is always popular after he has won a war. Even the people who did nothing to help him to win it then admire him. Therefore Washington had much power for good. He was one of the few great generals in the history of the world who was not ambitious and who saw that power must be used for the general good. He, therefore, used all his great power to build up a real government between the States so that conservation, business, and education could be aided. He was supported in this by his friends Alexander Hamilton of New York, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, John Adams of Massachusetts, and others.

295. The Convention of 1787. These leaders persuaded their States to send delegates to the convention in Philadelphia to see if they could not make a government for the union of States which would remove some of the greatest difficulties. It was a hard thing to do because most people are afraid of any change, and it is hard to persuade them that a strong government under the control of the people is

the best kind of protection for all honest and industrious men and women. The convention met and worked for many months and they organized the government we are now living under. The next few chapters of this book describe the constitution and the work which our country is now doing under it. You should try to understand the whole of it, for it is one of the best forms of government that human beings have ever worked out.

296. Accepting the New Government. The convention made the agreement that if nine of the thirteen States accepted the new constitution a union of those accepting it would be formed whether the other four agreed to it or not. There were many leaders who did not want a strong union; some opposed it because they thought their separate States would lose something by it, others simply because they could not understand it. Hamilton had great difficulty in bringing New York in. It was particularly important that he succeed because the country would have been cut in two if that State had not joined. Washington's great influence was probably what finally made the union possible; and people accepted it because they thought he would be the first president under the new constitution. After a long delay all the States did accept the agreement, and the government began its work.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Draw a map of the thirteen original States as they were in 1787. Put into the map the principal rivers and cities.
2. Look into your history of the United States and find out what boundaries were in dispute, and mark these on your map. Also find out what States were disputing about their trade.
3. If you can get the information, show on your map where slavery was. Also show what parts of the country were com-

mercial, and wanted the new government of the Union to control commerce.

4. From your history of the United States find out what kind of government was set up through the Articles of Confederation. Make a list of the reasons this government was not a success.

5. How many miles is Mt. Vernon from New York? How far can a carriage drawn by horses go in a day over poor roads? How many days did it take Washington, or Jefferson to get from home to the capital when it was in New York?

6. How long would it have taken a letter or a newspaper to go from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina? Calculate it for yourself. How long does it take a letter now to go from New York to Paris?

7. A philosopher once said: "I cannot hate a man if I know him." Write a paragraph on the importance of travel and communication to peace in the world.

8. Get a copy of the Federal constitution. Make a list of the subjects of its articles. There are only a few of them. Compare this constitution with that of your State. Which is the easier to understand? Which was the more difficult government to set up?

9. Write a paragraph describing the difficulties our States would have had with each other if the Union had not been formed.

10. Make a list of the changes we have made in our Federal constitution in the last one hundred years. Was it wisely drawn?

CHAPTER XXXI

THE UNION AND CONSERVATION

297. The Work of the Union. In the last chapter we saw how the union of States was formed. Now we come to some discussion of the work we do through its government. In this chapter and the two which follow it we speak of a part of this work; but it is of course impossible in these few pages to do more than to hint at the many things which this great government has to attend to. These chapters speak of the conservation of resources, the aid of business, and the care of our people by the support of education and the protection of health. In later chapters we shall discuss the work the Union does in our relations with other countries, for which work we have to support an army, a navy, and many agents in foreign countries. For all of this complicated and difficult work we must provide officers and make laws; and to do this we must have a constitution. After we have examined the work as carefully as we can, then we shall see what form of constitution such work requires.

298. New Lands. We saw that the Union was made up at first of thirteen little colonies along the Atlantic coast. The population of all of them was not as large as that of the present city of New York. But the territory and population have increased rapidly until now we have the most powerful country in the world. We saw that the small States insisted that the large ones turn over to the Union

their territories west of the Allegheny Mountains. A few years later we bought from France a great tract of land west of the Mississippi. This was called the Louisiana Territory, reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada. Later we acquired from Mexico the land between this territory and the Pacific Ocean. Finally Russia sold us Alaska, which is rich in coal, gold, and other resources. It is easy to see, therefore, that the importance of conserving the resources of the country has grown with great rapidity. We are trustees for the coming generation for great quantities of the world's wealth, and we must depend on our government to see that it is not wasted. Therefore the selection of our officers is worthy of the best attention we can give it.

299. Pioneers are Extravagant. People who move into new lands are called pioneers. They go into unsettled places, find rich farm lands, great forests, and valuable minerals which have before been unknown. They forget the poverty and suffering in the thickly settled cities of the old lands; and so they see no reason for taking pains to preserve these resources. In pioneer days some of the resources cannot be preserved. Timber has to be wasted in order that the land may be cleared; water power has to be given away to private companies in order for them to run the risks of opening the region to settlement. The wastefulness of the pioneers is unfortunate, but it is natural and it does not justify us in blaming them. It is for us to push on after them with our organized government and to make arrangements to save carefully what is left after the pioneer has passed on farther and farther westward.

300. Forests on the Mountains. In an earlier chapter we saw that the State governments do some work to save

the forests and to replant places which have been wasted. But no one State can attend to this in the great wilderness of the Rocky Mountains, and it is not fair to expect a single State to attend to it alone even in smaller sections. Many States are benefited by a great mountain forest preserve, and therefore many States should unite in providing the preserve. The Ohio and other rivers rise in floods every year. We saw that Dayton was nearly ruined by one of them. These floods rise partly because the rivers are not guided as they should be and partly because the mountain streams are not conserved by forests and dams. Think what quantities of water power are wasted every year in such floods; what fertile soil is carried away in the muddy water; what crops are destroyed while hundreds of people are in need of the food and other wealth that is being lost. This waste occurs because we are not yet wise enough to manage very simple matters on a large scale. We do not select and support well trained officers for our government. It is not the fault of a few people or of one party, but of all of us. It is hardly our fault even; it is our misfortune that our civilization is still only partly grown.

301. Minerals, Oil, and Gas. These vast regions which have not yet been thickly settled may contain great mineral wealth. We are in danger of losing this wealth in either of two ways. Either we shall let people take it out carelessly and spend it foolishly; or we shall make such unreasonable laws about it that no one will risk the money to sink mines and build railroads to it. This paragraph does not suggest how we should handle these things. There is doubt whether we know what is the best way to solve the problem. But it is certain that we should use the best experts that high salaries will procure to guide the government in deciding

what we should do. Coal is often dug in such a way that large quantities of it are left in the ground. Oil and natural gas are often allowed to escape without being used. When our resources are sold too cheaply, the purchaser is apt to waste them. They do him little good, while the community loses them forever. The Department of the Interior is studying all of these problems carefully; but it has too little support from our citizens who do not understand the difficulties which it must overcome.

302. Water Power. When oil, gas, and coal are wasted they are gone forever. It required thousands of years for them to form in the earth. The question of saving water power is of a different kind. We must save this from being taken up by private individuals and so held out of use or sold by them to the rest of us at unreasonable rates. On the other hand it is not wise to check private business men so severely that they will not use the water at all. One railroad in the West now runs its trains over the mountains by electricity. This can be generated by the use of water power. While we protect the public as fully as we can, the kind of men who will use our natural resources as wisely as this railroad company does must be encouraged with reasonable profits. Niagara Falls is a source of heat and light, which can be generated from its great water power. Part of it belongs to Canada, therefore our government must join with that of Canada in saving and using this great source of wealth. Wisdom lies between wastefulness and no use at all.

303. The Fertility of the Soil. Our supply of food depends on keeping the soil fertile. Its fertility depends on its containing certain chemicals in certain proportions. If these are exhausted or if floods carry off the soil, the

world loses the material from which our food and raw materials must come just as it loses minerals when they are wastefully mined. We have seen that the State governments do much work to save the resources of the soil; but the government of the Union can help the States. We have at Washington a Department of Agriculture the main work of which is to keep the soil fertile and to help the farmers of the country to do their work wisely. It maintains in each State an experiment station where scientists examine soil and advise farmers what crops to plant if they wish to improve it and make it most productive. These stations work together, and so are able to divide up their task. Some of them do one sort of experimenting and others another sort. They also find out what is being done in other countries and the information which they collect is sent broadcast to the farmers all over the country and greatly appreciated by them.

304. Fisheries. An important source of food is the fish of the sea. The salmon lives in the ocean but it comes into the lakes to lay its eggs and hatch its young. It enters the rivers by tens of thousands and can easily be caught as it tries to get to the places where it spawns. If we are wasteful in killing the fish as it comes in, we may exhaust the supply. It is natural for fishermen to want to catch as many as possible and to get rich doing so; and they are willing to let the next generation take care of itself. We cannot blame them much, but we must help our government to save the fish by making laws to prevent its total destruction. The seal is something like a fish in its habits; and it supplies one of our most valuable furs. Yet private business men caused these animals to be killed at the places to which they come to rear their young until few were left.

It has been necessary for our government to join with those of other countries to save the seals and yet to allow enough of them killed to give us fur.

305. Animal Life. The wild animal life of the country has not such practical importance, but we do not like to see it disappear. The buffalo, the deer, and many other interesting animals may be preserved and forest lands saved at the same time if we set aside great national parks such as the one on the Yellowstone. Single States cannot afford to do this; but if all of us coöperate through the government of the United States we can do it at but small cost to each citizen; and all of us can at some time in our lives visit these parks and get the benefit of our coöperation. All that is needed is to see that our government is wisely administered so that this part of our resources is not wasted.

306. Education. We shall see later that one means of doing all of this work is to educate the people to understand it. The citizen is so busy making a living and enjoying himself as he should, that he is likely to forget his duty to future generations.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Take an outline map of the United States and mark on it the regions in which the waters of the Mississippi River gather. Do forests need to be conserved in these regions? Why? Is it likely that States will do this conserving without uniting under one government?

2. Mark on your map regions in which floods occur in this river system. Is it profitable for the United States government to spend money in preventing these floods by dams at the heads of the rivers and in other ways? What resources are saved if we prevent floods?

3. Mark on your map where water power is available. For this power to be useful it must be available throughout the year. How can the government of the United States aid in making the power thus constant?

4. Mark on your map where great forests are the most economical use of the land, partly because they are needed for the rivers and partly because the land is not useful for agriculture. Write to the Department of Interior in Washington (this is a sufficient address) and ask for a pamphlet on saving the forests.

5. Mark on your map where large numbers of salmon are caught, as on the Columbia River. Try to find out what the government can do to prevent the supply of salmon from being wasted.

6. Mark on your map where natural gas and oil are to be found. Why is it necessary for the government of the United States to make some laws about the use of these resources?

7. Mark on your map where we have created great national parks. Of what use are these parks? Make a list of wild animals which you would like to preserve from extinction. Do you think it worth while for the government to make beautiful scenery available for the people who cannot own great estates?

8. Get in touch with a practical farmer and ask him what the National Department of Agriculture does to help him in his work. What does it do for the fruit grower? How does it aid the cattle man to improve the breed of cattle? What does it do for the breeder of hogs?

9. Get some one to explain to you what the following expression means: "We are the trustees for future generations." A father and mother often work hard for many years to bequeath a good farm to their son. If we are one great family, how much should we be willing to do to make our farm called the United States a productive and wisely managed farm for the next generation?

10. Write to the Department of Agriculture in Washington for a pamphlet on making the soil fertile. They will gladly send it without any charge. When you read it ask yourself whether expert civil servants are needed for this work.

CHAPTER XXXII

BUSINESS IN THE UNION

307. Large Scale Business. In chapter twenty-five we discussed how the State government aids business. But we have also seen that most of the things we use come from other States or even from other countries. Business corporations reach out over the whole continent. Therefore, if we are going to give the best aid to business we must do it through a government which extends as far as business does. Such a government is that of the United States. The western farmer must get capital by borrowing money in the eastern States. The eastern manufacturer must get his raw material such as wool, cotton, leather, wood, steel, wheat, and so on from States in other sections. He must ship his goods back again to the western and southern States. Our railroads have united into great systems which reach out through the whole country. If we control them we must do it by means of a government extending over all of the country. Therefore the work of aiding and controlling business is largely the duty of the United States officers. We must have a legislature to make laws for the whole country; and its members must come from all parts of the country so that they will understand their duties. When we write our constitution we must provide for this sort of law-making for the whole Union.

308. Interstate Commerce. One of the difficulties that Washington and our other leaders had in getting the

States to join the Union was to persuade them to let it control commerce between the States. The southern part of the country was afraid the northern part would get control of the government and make it difficult for the farmers of the country to trade with European manufacturers. Each State in different parts of the country thought it would be better off if it could keep out the goods of other States when it wished. These were selfish and mistaken notions. Washington and Hamilton finally persuaded them to write into the constitution a rule that trade between the States should be controlled by the Union, and that any person in any State might buy goods or sell them in another without any interference. We have what is called the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is appointed by the President, and which studies the complaints of all citizens who think their freedom of trade is being interfered with by the railroads and other carriers.

309. Roads and Railroads. When the United States was formed it was difficult to travel from one State to another. It was still more difficult to get across the mountains into the new lands of the Ohio or Mississippi valley. There were no railroads. The wagon roads were so poor that travel was dangerous as well as slow. At first the government of the Union did nothing to make travel easier, but gradually thoughtful people began to see that private individuals would not invest their money in roads; and that the States would not work together wisely in building them. Therefore the government of the United States spent large sums in improvements. Roads and canals were built. Much of the money was wasted, but much good was done. Then came the idea of building railroads for the use of steam engines. This work had to depend on the aid of

the government because it was such a large undertaking. When we secured the lands west of the Mississippi River we wished to connect them with the East. Therefore the government made free gifts of land to the companies which built railroads across the continent. This kind of public work still has to be aided and controlled, and the railroads which are built have to be supervised by the officers of the government to see that they give every one fair treatment. This is a large part of the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission. During The World War all the railroads were united under one head in order to run them more economically and efficiently. In this way much expense was saved, and goods were shipped more directly to their destinations. Possibly this union of the roads will be found wise enough to continue.

310. Postal Service. Among the first tasks of the Union was to provide a postal service for the whole country. Now there is a movement to have it also manage the telegraph and telephone systems. Some people think it is better for private companies to supply these services while others argue that the government should do it. No one knows yet which is the better plan; thoughtful officers of the government must study the whole problem carefully before we make any change. One reason why the government might undertake the task is to make certain that all parts of the country receive equal benefit from it. Such service in thinly settled places is not profitable; yet the government will send a letter to a remote cabin in the Rocky Mountains for the same charge that it makes for taking it from one part of a county to another. Thus every citizen has an equal opportunity to carry on his business and to keep in touch with his friends. It may be wise for the

government also to provide quick and cheap service by electricity for all of the people. One reason for not having it undertake this task at this time is our failure to find a way to select efficient public servants. Many people think it is better to pay a higher price and get good service, which they think the government cannot give.

311. Money. Another great task the Union began to perform as soon as it was organized was to supply money. Business cannot be carried on without a currency that all the people can trust. The word currency comes from a Latin word which means to run. Money flows from one person to another, aiding in the exchange of goods. Therefore it is useless unless the people who employ it know just what it is worth, and unless it is worth the same everywhere. The government of the United States coins metal for use as money, but it is awkward to handle and it loses value by wearing out. Therefore we use much paper currency which is nothing but an engraved promise that the government will pay its value in metal to any one who asks it. The value of all of our money is expressed in gold dollars, but we have so much confidence that the government will keep its silver dollars at the same value as gold ones that we pay little attention to the kind of money we happen to have. You will find it interesting to read both sides of the paper money you have and see what the government promises to do.

312. Banks and Credit. In almost all trading bank checks are now used; very little money changes hands in any large business. There is no more important service rendered by the government than safeguarding the banks so that we may handle checks on them with confidence. These institutions are constantly under inspection by of-

ficers who visit them and inquire into all of their affairs, count their money, and examine their books. Panics usually come in the business world because people lose confidence in each other. The government of the United States helps to protect business confidence by requiring that all contracts be kept, seeing that our money is reliable, and protecting our rights; but all of this is not enough. Through the Federal Reserve Bank it also lends money at reasonable rates of interest to business men who need it and who cannot get it because lenders have become frightened and fear that our prosperity will not continue. This whole matter of credit and banking is so difficult that it can be understood only by those who have given it careful study. One reason why some critics find so much fault with the business of the country is that they have not studied its problems and do not know what difficult tasks the officers of the government and those who manage large business have to perform in order to keep our great industries going.

313. Other Aid to Industry and Business. We can mention only a few of the many other things which the government of the United States does in aid of those who do the work of the world. If you write a book the government will give you a copyright, which for many years will prevent any one else from printing your ideas without your permission. If you invent a machine the government protects your property in it by a patent. Consuls are sent to all parts of the world to get information for our business men and to stimulate our trade with other countries. Taxes are levied on goods brought into the country to protect our industries from the competition of foreign countries in order that our workmen may receive higher wages. Many citizens think this aid is not wise, and that our industries

should compete with those of foreign lands on equal terms. Others say that such an industry as the manufacture of dyestuffs, which arose during the war when we could not import such things from Germany, must be protected while it is getting on its feet. This question is one of the main topics of debate between our political parties.

314. Fair Competition. It is the constant care of the government to insure competition on equal terms but to insure it has thus far been more than could be accomplished. Dishonest manufacturers have issued false advertisements, sold goods which were not what they were represented to be, and received rebates and other unfair advantages from the railroads and other companies who should serve every citizen on equal terms. Selfish men have employed little children in work dangerous to their health and growth, paid wages to women on which it was impossible for them to live, and in many such ways competed with honest and fair industry. Neither the private citizen nor the officers of the government know yet how to prevent these things so that honest business may have its just reward; but we must not lose confidence in our government because it is not perfect. No human institution is. We must also avoid thinking that to transfer our work from the State government to that of the United States will insure its being done much better. The officers in Washington are human beings like those at our State capital.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Take an outline map of the United States and mark on it the sections in which animals, such as sheep, hogs, and cattle are raised for food. Mark sections in which grains are grown; cotton; wool; vegetables such as potatoes and cabbage; fruit; and the like. Mark sections where coal and iron are mined.

2. Mark on your map the great railroad lines which connect these districts where raw materials are produced with the great centers of manufacturing and shipping. Make a star where several of the great seaports are located, and the greatest railroad centers.

3. We have seen that business cannot be conducted safely unless there is a strong government to protect the honest manufacturers and other producers from dishonest competitors. Can you make a short list of things the government of the United States can do to help the honest men who are doing the work of the world?

4. The railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, and the postal service are necessary to the world's business. We have seen that competition is wasteful in such services as these. Can you give any reasons why the people should see that the service is fair to all those who wish to use it? Is it an easy matter to organize the government so that it can control these wide-reaching undertakings? Describe the kind of men and women who must serve the public in a task of this difficulty.

5. Suppose each State in the Union had a different kind of money, as the little countries in Europe have, and describe the difficulties this would cause to our business.

6. Suppose each separate State had the right to control the railroads and telegraph lines which pass through its territory. What effect would this have on efficient service, since some of the States might fall under incompetent or corrupt governments now and then?

7. Suppose the manufacturers in one State paid fair wages for reasonable hours of labor; and those in the next State paid unfair wages for unreasonable hours of labor. Could these manufacturers compete on equal terms? Is it worth while for the government of the United States to try to make competition between such workers fair by making laws to protect the fair ones?

8. Ask some older person about the work of the United States Department of Commerce; the Department of Labor. You will not be able at first to grasp the difficult tasks these departments handle, but do you think the work is important enough for us to expect the President to select members of his cabinet for this work with great care? Must they be merely experts, or must they also be able to try to find out what public opinion demands and to do that?

9. If you save a hundred dollars, are you willing to put it into a bank? You know that you can check on this sum and send the

check across the continent to some one who will get it cashed by another bank there. How do you know your money is safe? How does the person who receives the check come to know it is worth anything and go to the bank to get the money on it? What does the government of the United States have to do with this great convenience?

CHAPTER XXXIII

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

315. Service by the Federal Government. The service rendered by the Federal government includes a great many different kinds of work; but we may think of it as divided into three kinds. Each of these kinds is discussed in a separate chapter. First, we have considered the saving of our resources so that future generations will be protected from waste by our own. Second, we took up the kinds of aid that are given to business and industry so that these resources may be used by our generation economically and wisely. Now we come to the care of our general welfare. Earlier in the book we saw that the State governments give attention to the support of education and the protection of public health; but it is plain that this kind of work can be greatly aided by some coöperation between the States through the use of the Federal government. It is always possible that some one State may fall a little behind the others. Such a State may be helped along by the others if they are all working together. Much of the work in these fields consists of collecting information and investigating problems of improvement. Such information can best be collected under the leadership of a central clearing house; and such experiments can be carried on most economically if they are planned by a central head and if this head distributes the work among the State workers.

316. The Bureau of Education. Many people who are

trying to improve education in our country think that there should be a Department of Education with a head who is a member of the President's cabinet; but this position has not yet been created. So far this part of the Federal government's work has in the main been done by a branch of the Department of the Interior, which attends to whatever has not yet been given to any other department. It is a department of left-overs. In it is a Bureau of Education with a commissioner at its head. It is clear that this commissioner cannot look after education as well as could a member of the cabinet. But the Bureau of Education nevertheless does a good deal of useful work. The principal part of it is the collecting of information.

317. One Kind of Work for Education. The work the bureau does can best be illustrated through an example. It is important for American schools to give more attention to the teaching of government. The Bureau of Education now has an expert on this subject who makes studies of what teachers of government are doing in various parts of the country. Reports of these studies are printed and sent out to teachers and other school officers in all parts of the country so that all may have the benefit of experiments which are now being tried. This expert meets with committees of teachers who are appointed by educational associations and advises them about their problems. He is able to do this because he has nothing to do but collect information from all parts of the country, study it carefully, and make up his mind which is the wisest of all the plans he can find. The teachers have so much work to do with their classes that they have but little time to make such investigations. The annual report of the Commissioner of Education is a large volume of information on this and other

subjects; and it is read with interest by teachers all over the country.

318. Other Educational Work. At first one would think that all the work done by the Federal government for education would be done through the bureau, but this is not true. We receive a great deal of education which does not come through the schools. For example, the farmers need to be taught the best methods of raising crops. To them the Department of Agriculture sends out each year great quantities of pamphlets. Each of these contains information and advice about some one problem which the farmer has to solve. They answer such questions as, How shall apple trees be kept free from scale? How can seed best be preserved? What is the best fertilizer to use for potatoes? What is the best food for chickens? What is the best succession of crops to make land fertile? The Department of Agriculture employs many chemists, horticulturists, and other scientists, who are constantly studying the problems of the farmer so that it may send out the latest scientific information. As we become older and have more experience we find that all the work of the world is closely linked together. None of us can do our work well without helping others; and none can neglect his without hurting many people who may not even be known to him. This is one reason why it is important to have one great Federal government over all the States, with one head of this government whose duty it is to direct and organize all of our intricate coöperation.

319. A Department of Health. Just as there are people who think our Federal government should have a Department of Education, so there are many who think there should be a member of the President's cabinet to look after

the care of health. If there were such a department with a great scientist at its head, the Federal government could give aid to the health officers of all the States just as the bureau of education gives aid to the educators. But at present we have no such officer. The Federal government aids the citizens in fighting disease and in saving working-men from unwholesome conditions, but there is no one member of the cabinet whose duty it is to give all his time to planning this work. There is little doubt that this lack of such an officer will be corrected before many more years pass.

320. Quarantine. One means of protecting health is to prevent people from carrying germs of disease from one part of the country to another and from bringing diseases here from foreign countries. Great numbers of immigrants come into our ports from Europe every year, but the immigration officers are always on guard with experts to examine these people to see that they bring in no contagious diseases. Each one is carefully examined and if he shows any signs of illness he is held by the officers until there is no doubt about his health. If he does not have sound health he is sent back to the country from which he came. This seems a pretty hard treatment for the poor immigrant who has come so far, but we cannot permit our citizens to be endangered by letting such strangers in. Such work can be done much better by the Federal government than by the State government because the former controls all other matters of immigration. The government of the Union can also make laws to prevent the spread of disease from one part of the country to another. These laws might be better if made under the leadership of a strong Department of Health.

321. Factory Inspection and Legislation. Some years ago a law was passed by the congress of the United States that white phosphorus must not be used in manufacturing in such a way as to injure the workmen. The health of many people who manufactured matches had been ruined in this industry. But there was a long fight before the danger could be removed because it was the business of no one in particular to attend to it. Many people believe we should have a Federal law that no children under fourteen years of age should be allowed to work in factories. When they are permitted to do so their education is apt to be neglected, and health is likely to be undermined so that the children cannot become useful citizens. Many also believe that the Federal government should make laws to regulate the conditions under which men may work in factories. Some of these reformers are wise and some are not. We have no way of finding out what is best unless we have an official to act for us. This work should not be left with no one to attend to it.

322. Pure Food and Drugs. It is almost impossible for the separate States to protect their citizens from harmful foods and drugs if these things may be manufactured and shipped about the country without control. There are few things more dangerous to the country than falsely advertised patent medicines. Poor people, who have been ill for a long time, are tempted by fraudulent advertising to try one kind of swindle after another. The Federal government has already done a great deal of good by making pure drug laws and by requiring druggists to be careful of the kind of things they sell. But these laws would be more effective if a department of the government were made responsible for their enforcement. Much has also been done for health

through laws against the shipment of unwholesome foods from one State to another. So much good has been done that it is now safer to eat candy which is shipped from one State to another than to take the kind manufactured and sold only in one city. Our Federal government has no control of it unless it is shipped in interstate commerce. All of this work to protect health is expensive and burdensome and we should not depend on private individuals to look out for it.

323. Panama and Cuba. What can be done for the health of a community is shown by the work of our Federal government in Panama and Cuba. In both of these places disease was so general that white men could hardly live there. The French were prevented from digging the Panama Canal largely because the workmen died in such large numbers. Yet our government made both places as healthful as almost any other part of the world by making good laws and enforcing them. One doctor lost his life experimenting with the mosquito which carries yellow fever. The work of such a hero is important enough for our government to recognize it with full support. What we need is organization at the top of the government so that scientific leadership will be provided to give the President the best advice.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Ask the principal of your school to tell you some day about the work of the United States Bureau of Education. After he has done so, make a list of the kinds of help such a bureau can give to the teachers all over the country.

2. Go to the public library and ask for the report of the Commissioner of Education, who is at the head of this bureau of the Department of Interior. To whom does he make this large

report? Why is he required to make it? Does it help to keep his department interested in its work?

3. Education is given in many ways besides teaching in the schools. How can the Department of Agriculture help to educate the farmer? How can the Department of Interior help to educate all of us in the need of conservation? How can the Department of Labor help to educate workmen and employers in the need of working together for the common good of all? Each of these departments collects information and sends it out, more cheaply and better than separate State departments could do it. What kind of expert civil servants does this educational work require?

4. Ask your family doctor to tell you something about the work of the public health service. After he has told you, make a list of the things the United States government is doing to make us a healthy people. Write a paragraph giving your opinion of the need of a Department of Health. If you wanted to decide whether we should have such a department, would you use your own information or would you ask some experts, such as the doctors, whose duty it is to care for health?

5. Examine some of the canned goods in your home and see if the labels on them make any reference to the work of the United States government. Ask your butcher whether the government of the United States does anything to protect you from having to eat unwholesome meat.

CHAPTER XXXIV

FEDERAL LAW

324. Work and Law. In the last three chapters we discussed some of the work the Federal government can do for us. But work cannot be done by the government without law or rules for doing it. We cannot conserve our resources without changing the law about property so that men who own land will use it for the good of others as well as for their own profit. We cannot aid good business unless we make laws against unfair business. We cannot protect health and education without making laws against those who would neglect both of these. The Federal government must make these laws and enforce them if it is to make the world a better place to live in. When we were discussing the law of the State we saw that much of it was brought over from England and that it has grown through more than a thousand years. Most of this old law is enforced by the State governments. The Federal government works mainly through statutes.

325. Federal Law Making. When our forefathers created the United States many people opposed the union because they thought it would interfere too much with the governments of the States. These opponents of strong government did all they could to have the constitution so written that the Federal government would not have much power. Consequently it can do no work and make no rules except about those things which the constitution of the United States clearly places under its control. We

call this a government of limited powers. The States can make laws about anything except what is forbidden in their constitutions or in the Constitution of the United States; and they can change their constitutions so that they can do almost anything. We say almost, because a few things are forbidden to them in the Federal constitution. But the Federal government can do only those things which the constitution tells it to do; and it cannot change its constitution except with the consent of three-fourths of the States.

326. Implied Powers. The constitution gives power to the Federal government in two ways. The first way is by expressly stating that it may do certain things such as collect taxes and establish post offices. The second way is by saying that it may do other things which are necessary in order that the power expressly given may be used. If the Federal government may supply postal service it must have the right to build roads where none exist. The power to establish a bank is implied in the statement that it may borrow money. Implied means folded up in. The second kind of powers are given to the Federal government folded up in the first kind. Those who believe in protecting our manufacturers claim that the power to protect them is implied in the power to levy duties on goods imported from other countries. If the Federal government may control interstate commerce it may control the kind of goods which are shipped in that commerce. Therefore it has an implied power to forbid the shipment of impure foods or drugs, or goods which are manufactured in dangerous conditions.

327. Increase of Federal Powers. We are not as much afraid of the power of the United States government now

as some of the citizens were in the time of Washington. Therefore we have gradually given it more and more authority. The whole system of money is under its control and many of the banks are inspected by it; it is taking more and more control of corporations and of large business, for nearly all of their business is in interstate commerce; there is agitation for government ownership of the railroads which carry interstate commerce; some would have it also take over the telegraph and telephone service, which they would have united with the post office. There is a Federal income tax, and many favor using the taxing power to reduce the size of large fortunes. There is constant discussion about the powers which the Federal government should have, and we are so much interested in it that we are in danger sometimes of forgetting the State governments altogether.

328. New Departments in the Government. It is clear that new departments must be organized to help the President enforce the law which controls all of this complex work. When the government was first formed the President had only four men in his cabinet; Secretaries of State, Finance, and War, and an Attorney-General. Since then we have added Departments of the Navy, Postal Service, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor until there are now ten in all; and, as we have seen, many people think we should add two others,—one of Health and another of Education. If the President is to advise Congress in the making of laws to bring about coöperation throughout the country he must have helpers to advise him; and if laws are made when he so advises, there must be departments to administer the laws.

329. Congress. It is also clear that the country must have constant control over this great government that is

growing so rapidly. If the Federal government is to make laws on all these various subjects, then the work of Congress must be pretty well understood by all of us. What is the Congress of the United States? In the first place it is a body of citizens who go to Washington once a year or oftener from all parts of the country to talk over the country's welfare and to make its laws. This country is very large, being nearly three thousand miles long and fifteen hundred miles wide. The different parts of it have different interests; and if people from the different parts do not get together and talk things over, the country is likely to break up into pieces. Sometimes the Congress has to stay together the whole year because it is so difficult for its members to agree about what it is best to do for the whole country. Their debates help the people of the different States to understand each other and to be reasonable as to the things about which all do not agree.

330. Two Houses. When the constitution was being written by our great leaders in Washington's time they disagreed about the kind of Congress they should establish. Some wanted one house and some wanted two. Washington thought that two houses would be better because such an arrangement would require every new law to be gone over twice, and so the work would be done more carefully than if there were only one house. Franklin wanted only one house because he thought it would do the work more promptly than two would. He wanted the people to act more quickly than Washington did. The people differed also about the number of members each State should send. The large States wanted each to send members in proportion to its population; and the small ones wanted equal representation with the large States. After a long argu-

ment it was decided to have two houses. Each State was allowed two members in the upper house or Senate, but the States are represented in the lower in proportion to their population. Consequently, Delaware has only one Representative and two Senators; while New York has also only two Senators, but it has as many Representatives as a dozen other States combined. These two houses make and change the laws for our Federal government.

331. The President and the Laws. The President helps Congress to make laws in two ways. First, he suggests to them service which the country needs; and second, he reviews such laws as they pass, vetoing those he does not approve. Each member of Congress is likely to be more interested in the State or district which elects him than in the welfare of the whole country. The President is elected for the whole country, and so it is his particular duty to forget the State he comes from and to think about the country as one. He has his cabinet composed of members who are interested in different kinds of work for the whole country. He meets with them now and then and talks over all the work. Therefore he is able to see more plainly what laws are needed to make the work efficient than the members of Congress can.

332. Leading Congress. Most of the Presidents have merely sent messages to congress about the needs of the country; but Washington, John Adams, and Wilson, have all gone to it and told it in speeches just what it ought to do. The President has no control over what Congress shall do, but it is a useful thing to have the country and the members know what the President and cabinet think is important. All of our strong Presidents have complained about the difficulty of getting Congress to make the laws

that seemed to be needed, and probably their complaints were just. But we must remember that there are many different kinds of members, and that these hundreds of men from different parts of the country find it hard to agree. Self-government is difficult and we must all be patient with it for we do not want a monarch to rule us; we want public opinion to rule, even if our progress is slow. The President should be the leader but we cannot expect him to lead any faster than Congress can follow.

333. The Supreme Court and the Law. We have seen that the Congress can make laws only about work which the constitution permits the Federal government to do. Sometimes there is a difference of opinion as to what the constitution means. Then the Supreme Court has to decide cases in which the law seems to contradict the constitution. For example, the Congress imposed an income tax; a citizen refused to pay the tax because he said the Congress did not have power to impose such a tax. He brought a suit to keep an officer from collecting the tax from him and the Supreme Court decided against Congress. But the people wanted the Federal government to have the power so they changed the constitution by an amendment expressly giving Congress this power. A new income tax law was then passed and enforced. The power to set aside the acts of Congress gives the court great authority. It is so great that some people want to change the constitution and to take away this power; but others think this is a wise safeguard against mistakes due to making new laws too carelessly.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. In the last four chapters we have suggested a little of the work the government of the United States has to do. Mention

three laws which you think this government should make to back up its work.

2. Is the government of the United States free to make any laws the Congress thinks wise, to aid in its work? What limits are placed on it by the constitution?

3. Does the power of the United States government to make laws tend to increase or decrease? Has public opinion anything to do with the meaning of a written law? What effect does public opinion have on the opinion of judges as to the meaning of law? Do the judges of the United States Supreme Court always agree as to what the law means?

4. Write a paragraph on the following subject: "As we become more and more dependent on each other we give more power to our government."

5. Do you think it wiser for us to depend on the President to recommend laws to Congress or to depend on the members of Congress to do so? Why is this?

6. Explain why the President, who is the head of ten great departments of government, is in a position to recommend to the Congress most of the laws we need. Mention five laws you think we need, and then mention the department of the government which would naturally recommend each of these laws to the president.

7. Look over the newspapers and find some mention of the work of Congress. What department of the government would be likely to know more about each of these matters than would any single member of Congress?

8. When a campaign for the election of the President is on, is the discussion about needed laws of great interest? If we elect a President who wishes these needed laws, can he make Congress pass them?

9. Find one case where the Supreme Court has declared a law unconstitutional. Then find the exact section in the constitution on which the Supreme Court based its decision. Explain why it is necessary to permit the Supreme Court to have this power if we are to have a written constitution of the kind we have.

10. Make a diagram of the Federal government showing the President, the ten departments, and several important bureaus in each department.

CHAPTER XXXV

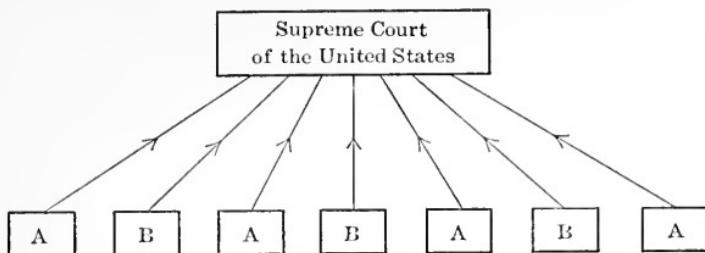
THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

334. The Outline of a Constitution. We come now to the law which organized a government for our Union. Three organs of government are needed: a legislature to make laws, a court to try cases, and officers to enforce the law and do other work in which we coöperate. All of these organs must be described in the constitution so that we shall know how our officers are to be elected or appointed and so that they will know what their powers and duties are. If we form a union of States, and if in such a union the power of the States must be limited so that the union will be strong, then the constitution must mention those things which the States may not do. But we must also make an arrangement for changing the constitution. Times change and so do our ideas about the powers of government. Therefore we shall find differences of opinion about the powers and duties of our Federal union. These differences can be safely settled only if we have a way of changing the government whenever it is in need of improvement.

335. The Legislature for the Union. We have already had some discussion of the Congress, but we did not discuss the methods of electing its members. We saw that the upper house or Senate has two members from each State. At first the constitution provided that the States should elect Senators through their legislatures. But a

few years ago the method was changed by the seventeenth amendment, which requires that the Senators must be elected by popular vote. The change was made to prevent the election of Senators from interfering with the other work of the State legislatures and to make Senators more directly responsible to the people. We also saw that the States do not all have the same number of Representatives in the lower house of Congress. These members are distributed in proportion to the population, which arrangement gives the more populous States a large number. For the election of these members the States are divided into districts, and one member is elected from each. The members of the Senate are elected for a term of six years, and those of the lower house for a term of two years. In order that the Senate may not change too suddenly, only one-third of the members of that house are elected at a time. By this arrangement some experienced members are certain to be in the Senate all the time. If we wished to provide proportional representation in the lower house we would make larger districts and elect several members from each. This, some claim, would give the minority a better chance to be represented.

336. The Federal Courts. We have seen that the courts of the United States help in keeping the laws in agreement with the constitution. They also try cases which arise when States do not agree. To provide for this work there is a Supreme Court at the head of this part of the government. But one court cannot hear all the cases that must be tried. Therefore the country is divided into districts with a lower court in each. If the judges in a lower court seem to have made a mistake, the lawyers for one side or the other of the suit ask the Supreme Court for a new



This diagram suggests the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States reviews the decisions of any court in the country when they deal with Federal affairs. The blocks marked "A" represent inferior United States courts; those marked "B" represent the State courts.

trial. In this way the decisions all over the country are made to agree with each other and the people therefore have one law throughout the country. For the lower Federal courts there are not only judges but also United States district attorneys to look after the enforcement of Federal laws, and marshals or policemen who compel people to obey the judges if they do not do so willingly. All of these servants of the United States are appointed by the President. You will notice this difference between the way of selecting these Federal officers and those of the States, where many such public servants are elected by the people.

337. Power of the Supreme Court. A little thought will show you that the Supreme Court of the United States is extremely powerful. It has the right to declare unconstitutional any law passed by Congress and so to prevent that law from being enforced. If States pass laws which seem to it to contradict the constitution of the United States this court may set them aside. If the State courts and the Supreme Court of the United States do not agree the opinion of the latter prevails. Then it must be remembered that the Supreme Court, like all other courts, has the right to

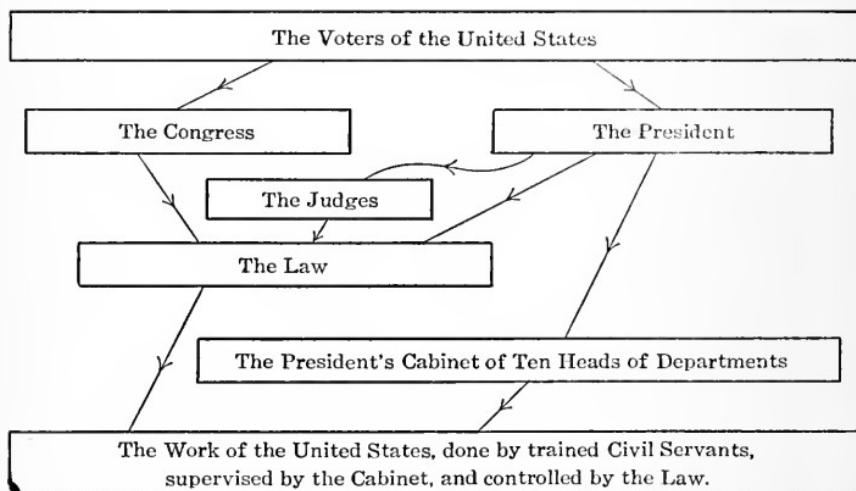
issue writs. One of these is the *injunction*. If some one seems to be about to commit an act that will seriously injure some one else, the court may forbid him to do it, and if he does not obey he may be put into prison for showing contempt of the court. Another form of writ is called a *mandamus*, which is Latin for "we command." If an officer refuses to do what the law requires of him the judges may command him to do it, and if he resists he may be punished. A third is the writ of *habeas corpus*. If one is held in prison without a trial his friends may get an order from the court requiring the jailor to give a reason for holding him. The United States court may even send such a writ to a State officer. It is plain, therefore, that these courts have great powers; but if we are to have government and law some one must have power enough to enforce our law. If the court makes a mistake now and then we must not complain, for all people make mistakes; and it is better to have them made than to have no court with power enough to enforce the law.

338. Limiting the States. It is impossible to have law and order of any kind unless most of us are willing to limit our rights a little. We cannot forbid others to do as they please against us without giving up our right to do as we please against them. Just as this is true for persons in a state, so it is true for states in a league or a federation. So long as they remain separate each keeps its own rights to do as it pleases, and the strong may impose on the weak. Among such states there is no protection except through fighting, just as in anarchy in a state there is no protection for a man except through fighting with other men. Therefore, when we made our Federal constitution we denied certain powers to the separate States.

339. Some of the Limitations. The most important limit on the powers of the State governments comes from the very fact that the government of the United States is over them. They must submit to the authority of the Union. Many kinds of service, such as the post office, are given over to the central government and so kept out of the hands of the States. Much trade must be under the control of the Federal government rather than of the States. But several things are still more clearly denied to them in the constitution. Among these are the following: First, no State may form an alliance with another State or country. This restriction prevents leagues which might break up the Union. Second, no State may interfere with the money system of the Union by issuing any separate kinds of money. Third, no State may interfere with trade by laying taxes on imports or exports. You will remember that one of the main causes of quarrels between States was the laying of such taxes. Fourth, no State shall keep any army or navy without the consent of the Federal government. If States could do these things there would be danger of friction between them, and so they are all alike forbidden.

340. The President of the United States. Every useful government must have a head. The head of the government of the United States is the President. It is his duty to lead the Congress in the making of laws; to appoint the members of the court, and all other important officers of the government; and in a word to direct all the work of the Union. Some people complain that the President has too much power. They do not take the trouble to think what would happen if the President neglected his duty and did not enforce the law. Every power the President has

was given to him by representatives of the majority of our people. The difference between a king or an autoocrat and a President is not in the amount of power he uses. The difference is in whether or not the power is given by the people to use for their good. If the Supreme Court does not decide cases as the people think it should the President



This diagram presents the organization of the government of the United States. Note its similarity to the diagram on page 199 suggesting a short-ballot State government. Each part of one diagram corresponds to a similar part of the other. Both differ from the Commission-Manager city government in separating the executive from the legislature.

may gradually appoint new judges who will do so. He cannot do this at once because the judges are appointed for life; but he can slowly add new judges who think differently from the present ones. It is a wise provision that the appointments must come slowly, for we have seen that the law must not be changed too rapidly. We often get excited and demand things which, after we have had time to think them over more carefully, we find would not have been good.

341. Changing the Constitution. There is no more important question about the government of our Union than this one: How shall we change the constitution? Under self-government we make changes by amending this great law; under an autocrat it may require a revolution to make such changes. Those who formed our government thought that changes should be made slowly so that the government might not be thrown into confusion by thoughtless experiments. Therefore none can be made in our Federal government without the consent of three-fourths of the States. A change may be proposed by two-thirds either of the States or of the Congress. There are many people who think this method of amendment should be corrected somewhat, so that changes could be made more easily; but to find a new and better method is a difficult matter, and those who advocate one should think carefully of what they are doing before they go ahead. They are in danger of doing the government harm rather than good for they may open the way to immature and careless changes.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Draw a diagram of the government of the United States. Put on it first the people who elect the government; then the persons whom they elect; then the principal agents whom these persons appoint. If you wish to make a large diagram, put on it some of the bureaus into which the departments are divided.
2. What article in the constitution tells how the President is elected? What article describes the election of the members of Congress? What amendments describe the selection of members of the government? Why were these amendments made?
3. What article tells the States what powers they have? Why is it necessary to put these limits into the constitution? What article places limits on the power of Congress? Why were these limits put in? What amendments limit the powers of the States? What amendments limit the powers of the United States?
4. Is the civil service protected in our Federal Constitution?

If not, how is it protected? Why is it protected in State constitutions?

5. England has no written constitution. Why do we need one when she does not? France has a written constitution, but it does not limit the power of the government. Her courts do not declare laws unconstitutional. Which do you think is the better arrangement?

6. What article in our constitution tells how the people may amend it? Give a brief definite statement of the ways of amending it.

7. If you have a number of clubs in your school, write a brief constitution which might set up a federal government over them.

CHAPTER XXXVI

COLONIES AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

342. The Declaration of Independence. We have seen that our country began as a number of colonies along the Atlantic coast. Some of them were planted by England, and some by other European states, but they finally became all English speaking. Gradually they grew strong; many people came to live here; the country was developed; commerce became important; and government from Europe grew more and more unwise. The people of the world had not yet learned the principle of self-government, and the rulers of England were not willing to allow the colonies to be governed in the interest of those who lived in them. Therefore we separated from our Mother Country and waged a war to compel her to allow us to govern ourselves. When we did this we published a Declaration of Independence in which we said that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We meant that all people should be governed only with their own consent, and that they should be free to decide what kind of government they would have. But we did not mean that every little group of people might separate and have a little government of its own whenever it is dissatisfied. In this chapter we have a discussion of how the world is trying to give self-government to as many of its people as possible.

343. New Settlements. When people migrate to a new country they are glad to remain citizens of the home

land and to have the protection the home government can give them. The new country is generally already inhabited by people called natives, as ours was by the Indians. There is likely to be war between the newcomers and the natives, and it is difficult to find a just answer to the question, what are the rights of savages in a land that they are not making full use of. They may be using it only a little, while large parts of the world are so densely settled that there is hardly room enough for the people to work and make a living. As the world becomes more and more fully populated it will be more and more difficult to permit any part of it to be left unused. The resources of the world must be worked by the people of the world, and if some do not use them others will come in and fight for a chance to do so.

344. Backward Peoples. Some of the people of the world are pushing civilization forward all the time. Others, like the natives of central Africa, do not wish to have anything more than food, shelter, and a few other simple things. The Indians in America were like this. They were satisfied to hunt and fish and to roam about the country with no permanent houses or cultivated lands. Some of them were more civilized than others, but on the whole they made but little use of the lands they held. Europeans came and took the lands from them a little at a time, gradually pushing them westward. We are not proud of the way the Indians were driven out, and doubtless many things were done of which we should be ashamed. We are glad that our treatment of the backward people of the world is now more fair and just. But it is not an easy matter to decide how long savages who will not join in civilization should be permitted to roam about and kill others who wish to use the lands more completely.

345. Our Western Lands. When we established our independence we had a good deal of unsettled land between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River. Later we bought other lands, and we took some from Mexico. Much of this territory was inhabited by Indians who gradually gave way before civilization. We did not hold these new lands as colonies under the control of the older States, but we organized new States for self-government as rapidly as the territories became settled. Our own citizens moved into them and carried our political ideas with them. Therefore it was easy to form these new States as members of our Federal Union. We began with thirteen States and now we have in the Union forty-eight equal and self-governing communities. We do not have confidence in any kind of government except a republic; therefore our constitution requires that all of our States shall have this form. But each new State has a right to make its own constitution and to govern itself, just as the original thirteen States may.

346. Our Plan for Colonies. We have a regular plan for dealing with new lands. We believe that people should govern themselves just as soon as they show that they can do so economically and wisely. They cannot do so until they have enough settlers in one place to form a government which will not be too expensive. A few scattering people cannot pay taxes enough to support officers to protect them from anarchy. We do not wish to get any benefit from ruling over other people. In fact, we have spent large sums of money helping our colonies to get ready to govern themselves wisely.

347. The Philippines. About twenty years ago we waged a war against Spain during which we took from her most

of her colonies because we did not believe she was governing them well. Among these were the Philippine Islands near the coast of Asia. Some of the people in the Philippines wanted to have complete independence at once; others wanted to continue under the control of the United States. It was difficult to know what to do with them. If we gave them independence it was likely that they would fall into civil war and anarchy because they had had no practice in self-government. If they did fall into anarchy some other strong government would take control of them. It would do this partly for selfish reasons and partly to bring the resources of the islands into the use of the world. But we had declared when we became independent that all people should govern themselves. What were we to do? This question has never been fully answered. Some of our citizens think we must free the islands completely from any American control. Others think we should hold them longer and prepare them gradually through a good many years for self-government. The latter say we have no more right to set the Philippines adrift than we would have to let children do as they please when they are tired of staying at home under the rule of their parents. The children, they say, would suffer without protection; and so the islands would suffer without well-organized government.

348. Cuba. We also took Cuba from Spain. In fact, we went to war with Spain because we thought she was governing the island badly and was keeping it in constant turmoil right at our front door. As soon as we made peace with Spain we began to prepare Cuba for self-government. Now she is almost entirely free. She may govern herself just as she will so long as peace and order are preserved; but we have the right under our treaty with the island to

step in and restore order if necessary. We also refused to let the Cuban Government make alliances with European powers or to go so deeply into debt to them that war with Europe might be the result. In other words, Cuba is like a son who is about twenty years old. He is nearly ready to separate from his parents, but they still have a little authority over him. We spent a great deal of money in improving the health and education in the island before we set it free. We, therefore, seem to have a right to prevent it from falling back into anarchy.

349. Colonies of Other Countries. Countries govern colonies for either of two reasons or for both of them. The first reason is to help the people in the new country to improve their civilization and government. The second is to develop the resources of the country and to bring its products into the use of the world. Which of these two reasons is more important it is hard to say; one is likely to prevail when settlers from the home land outnumber the natives, and the other when the natives outnumber the newcomers. We should not judge any country harshly for its treatment of its colonies unless we know a great deal about the people of the new lands, and unless we understand what the home government is trying to do. It is easy to find fault, but it is difficult to persuade a large number of backward people to make the best use of their resources and to respect human rights. Some colonies are like schools where people are being educated for their own good. Others are like farms where resources are being developed. If the natives will not work the farms, other people come and take them. The American Government has tried to make our colonies into schools for the people who live there.

350. Africa. Most of Africa is inhabited by black people who are very backward in civilization. The continent has great resources which the world needs. What is right for the world to do? Shall the Africans be free to continue as savages and keep these resources out of use; or shall the peoples of the world unite in gradually educating the natives up to our kind of civilization? It is difficult to answer this question yet, because the peoples of the world have no common government through which they can decide questions of this sort. At present many different countries own colonies in Africa and each is trying to get as much of the continent as possible. If we believe that colonies should be held only in the interest of the people who live in them it is hard to see why any country wishes to hold on to these expensive and troublesome possessions. But the business people of some countries like to hold colonies for the purpose of making money out of them. We cannot find much fault with such people as yet for the whole question of dealing with savages and half-civilized communities is unsettled.

351. Self-Government in the World. It is likely that all the world would be happier if there were a federal government over all the countries of the world, for then such questions as the partition of Africa could be peacefully settled in an orderly manner, and there would be little danger of war between the countries.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Commit to memory the first article of the Declaration of Independence. Is there any part of this paragraph that we do not now believe to be useful?
2. Should we give the Philippine Islands their independence now? Write a paragraph showing why we should not do so now.

Write another paragraph showing why we should do so. Who is the best judge of what action our government should take? Why is this person more able to judge the matter than the average citizen?

3. See if you can find in the constitution of the United States any reference to the government of people who do not govern themselves.

4. What is meant by the expression "The white man's burden"? If the whole world is to be justly governed in the interest of the people of all the world, what should the civilized peoples do with the sections still inhabited by uncivilized people? Describe a civilized people.

5. If Cuba cannot do anything she wishes, is she independent? Can any country do just as it pleases? State in a brief paragraph just what you mean by an independent country?

6. Should Alaska be made into a State? Should Porto Rico be made into a State? In each case give your reasons. If you do not know the reasons, whose judgment would you be willing to trust in answering these questions? Are persons wise who criticise the government of their country in important matters of this kind without full information?

CHAPTER XXXVII

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS

352. Sovereign States. The word state has two meanings. We use it in Ameriea as a name for the parts out of which our Union is formed; but elsewhere in the world it is used as a name for an independent country. Some writers therefore always write the word with a capital when they refer to our States. The countries of the world, or the states, are called sovereign. That is, there is no higher government over them. Each is free to do as it pleases except in so far as it is limited by the power of other sovereign states. No one of these countries has been willing to confess that it has fewer rights than any other. Little states like Montenegro have insisted on all their rights as sovereign states, and have been willing to fight for them. The larger states have not always respected the rights of the smaller ones, but there is a growing tendency to protect the smaller states under the forms of international law.

353. Our Fortunate Position. When we separated from England and set up our Federal Union we were fortunately situated. There was no other independent state near us, and no European country thought it worth while to attack us. It is true that when England and France were at war early in the nineteenth century we were drawn into what we call the War of 1812. This struggle was enough to warn our statesmen that we should keep as clear of European quarrels as possible. Therefore President

Monroe issued his famous doctrine in 1823. He said that the United States would not interfere in European affairs nor with the colonies then owned by Europe in America, but that we would not permit any European power to secure any more territory on this continent. America is for the Americans, he meant. Shortly before this a good many Spanish American colonies had gained their independence, and other European countries were about to help Spain to reconquer them.

354. Pan-Americanism. When our Monroe Doctrine was issued we were the only powerful state in America. Canada was a British colony; Mexico and the South American countries were weak and had not developed good governments. But gradually their systems improved, education was promoted, their resources were developed, and they began to be uncomfortable under that sort of protection from the United States. In 1848 we went to war with Mexico and forced on the Mexicans a treaty of peace which they thought unjust. We took a large amount of their territory; and they were justly afraid that we would even take away their independence. Later on many Latin Americans thought that we did not deal justly with Colombia in taking the land for the Panama Canal. There are differences of opinion about this, but the fact is that some of our neighbors were uncomfortable about it. Therefore those who have wished justice to rule in America have been working for a federation of all American states in a pan-American union. When we recently had another quarrel with Mexico we asked three great South American countries, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, to help Mexico to understand our side of the dispute. This act has done much to make our neighbors believe that we are telling the truth

when we say that we do not intend to conquer any of their territory.

355. A World Power. Sometimes we hear it said that we became a world power when we fought our war with Spain and took her colonies. By this is meant that we have given up our separation from European affairs, and have even been drawn into the politics of Asia. We have, for example, helped to protect China from states which we thought might treat her unfairly. At whatever time we became a world power, there is no doubt that our relations with the other states of the world are now very important to us and to the peace of the world. We are one of the greatest states, and we have many duties to our fellow-men outside of our own boundaries.

356. The Secretary of State. The President is the head of our government, and it is his duty to attend to all our relations with foreign countries. But this work is so important that those who made our constitution required him to consult with the Senate about treaties, and gave the Senate the power to defeat any treaty which seems to be unwise. He has so many kinds of work to do that he cannot attend to all of it himself. He, therefore, has one member of his cabinet who aids him in looking after foreign relations. This member is called the Secretary of State. He has a number of duties, such as issuing proclamations in the United States, publishing the laws passed by Congress, and so on. But our correspondence with foreign countries is the most important among his duties.

357. The Diplomatic Service. Under the President, the Secretary of State is at the head of what is called the diplomatic service. In times of peace the countries of the world keep in close touch with each other all the time through

what are called ambassadors and ministers. There is little difference between these two kinds of agents except the name by which they are called. Ambassadors are of higher rank and represent us in the more important countries, but both kinds do about the same sort of work. They are expected to live at the capital of the foreign country to which they are sent and to maintain as friendly relations with the government there as they can. They have little real power, and not a great deal of definite work to do. It is their duty to look after the interests of American citizens abroad; but the main task of each is to understand the policy of the government with which he is living and to advise the President or Secretary of State about our relations with that government. This is an important means of preventing misunderstandings and of preserving the peace. Most wars arise because people do not understand each other.

358. The Consular Service. We have a large number of other agents in foreign countries whose duty it is to look after our business interests. There is an American consul in nearly every important city in the world; and over all our consuls in any one foreign country there is likely to be a consul general. These agents study the manufactures and commerce of the country to which they are sent and send home reports which are useful to our business men. They also look out for the interests of American citizens who are in their neighborhood. If an American is arrested a consul will advise him what is best to do; if he is out of money the consul will help him to get home; if he is unjustly treated the consul will enter a complaint in the name of our government and will send home a report on his case. The consular service has been greatly improved in the last

few years. Those appointed to it must now pass an examination to show that they can speak foreign languages and that they understand the duties of their office. Not many years ago misguided politicians appointed their friends to such posts and our citizens were very poorly served. Many young men are now taking up the consular and diplomatic service as a life work because they know they will be promoted in it if they show ability and training.

359. The War Department. It is not always possible to remain at peace with other countries, however hard we may try. Therefore the President has a Secretary of War, who advises him about preparation for war and looks after the preparations we are making. It is a little strange that those who do this work are called the War Department for there is also a Navy Department with a secretary at its head. At first both of these were in one department. The War Department maintains at West Point in New York a great academy where officers are trained for the army. Other educational institutions are also encouraged to train soldiers; and we keep a standing army all the time ready for war. Our soldiers are also ready to prevent disorder in the country. The constitution requires the government of the Union to support republican self-government in every State. Therefore if anarchy breaks out in any part of the country the governor of a State may request and receive the aid of the Federal army to restore order. If any part of the country resists the enforcement of the laws of the United States, the army of the Union will step in and require obedience.

360. The Navy. We have a long sea coast on both the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. We also have merchant ships which go to all parts of the world. We must, there-

fore, have a fleet of warships to protect these, for there is no single government over the seas of the world. It is the duty of the member of the President's cabinet called the Secretary of the Navy to study fleets and naval war and to keep the President informed about such things. It is also his duty to see that the fleet we have is always ready for war. The department maintains a training school at Annapolis in Maryland which is something like the military academy at West Point. The fleet sails the sea and keeps in constant practice. One reason why we built the Panama Canal was to make it possible for our fleet to get from one coast to the other quickly and safely in case we were attacked. The canal is powerfully fortified so that no other powers can send ships through unless we permit them. We also have powerful forts along our coast to protect us from foreign warships. Years ago the fleet had much work to do in helping to suppress the slave trade from Africa, but now the sea is so peaceful that there is little for the navy to do except in time of war.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Try to find a statement of exactly what President Monroe said when he stated his famous doctrine. From your history of the United States give one illustration of the use of it to check some European power. Has it been applied to our Asiatic relations?
2. What languages are spoken in South America? What European countries speak languages closely akin to these? Has our past history given the people of Latin America any cause to distrust us?
3. Why does the constitution forbid the President to make treaties without the consent of the Senate? Find out exactly what the constitution does say about the making of treaties. Suppose a majority of the Senate were in favor of a particular treaty,

but less than two thirds of the members would vote for it. Would this prevent any treaty from being made? Would the rule requiring a two-thirds vote in favor of a treaty be a wise one to apply in making a treaty of peace to end a war?

4. Now that communication between countries is so easy and quick, are ambassadors as important as they were when there was no telegraph or wireless? Our ambassadors to foreign countries are likely to change when a President is elected of a different party from his predecessor? Would it be wise to change all the assistants to the ambassadors in the foreign capitals at the same time? What effect would such a change have on the possibility of understanding the policies of the foreign governments?

5. Mention three things our consular agents can do to aid the American business man. Go to the public library and ask for a consular report and see what it deals with. What training should one have before he becomes a consul?

6. Find West Point on the map. Find Annapolis. Is there a school in your State at which soldiers are trained? What do we mean by the expression "preparedness"?

7. Does the President ever act as commander-in-chief of our armies? What officers does he select to control the army in time of war?

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE EXPENSES OF OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

361. A Complex Problem. It is difficult for us to understand the financial problems of our Federal government. The sums of money it deals with are too large for us to grasp; the government is far from us and its work is not well understood by most of us; the taxes which it collects have been indirect and so have been paid by us without our knowing that we paid them. The average citizen knows when the United States gives a pension to his friend, or when his city receives a new post office or Federal court building; and he is grateful to the member of Congress who secured this advantage. But when nothing of this sort happens his interest is largely a matter of excitement over the election of a President once in four years. Yet the government of our country cannot be all that we would like for it to be unless we study it and unless a majority of our citizens vote wisely for their representatives. We must know something of how the Congress works if we are to know whether our representatives in it are really working for the public good.

362. The Federal Revenue. In speaking of the finances of the government of the United States it is well to use the word revenue instead of income, so that we may save the latter word to refer clearly to one of the main sources of national taxation. The Federal revenue is now going through a great change and no one is able to say what the

effects of this change will be. Until a few years ago the expenses of this government were paid largely from two kinds of taxes. The first we call customs duties, which are collected on goods brought into the country from abroad. The second we call internal revenue, because it is collected within the country. Most of it comes from taxes on liquors and tobacco. Recently these sources of revenue have been supplemented by a Federal tax on private incomes and on inheritances. Some people think that the movement will continue until most of the Federal revenue will be derived from these two sources.

363. Customs Duties. Except the question of slavery, there is probably no one thing which has played a larger part in American polities than the tax on goods brought here from foreign countries. It is often thought that the main issue between the Democratic and Republican parties is that the former believes in a low rate for customs duties and the latter a high one. The Republicans are said to favor *protection* for American industries. By means of a high tariff, they would either exclude foreign goods from our markets or make the price of imported goods so high that our manufacturers will not be required to compete with the European workmen. The Democrats are said to favor greater freedom of trade; they believe that our workmen are more efficient than those of other countries and that we can maintain our standard of living without protection. They say that this kind of tax falls more heavily on the poor than on the rich and so is unfair. The debate is more than a century old, and there is no prospect of agreement. Some students of government maintain that the way to protect those American industries which need protection is to create a tariff commission of experts and to permit it

to arrange the rates. At present the tariff bill is a result of log-rolling among members whose States have particular industries to protect. Many Democrats are accustomed to demand the protection of industries in their States just as the Republicans do. If all protection is to be given up we must provide other means of revenue.

364. Internal Revenue. Just as the revenue from customs duties may possibly disappear or be reduced, so that from internal taxes on liquors and tobacco may greatly decrease or disappear. The Federal constitution has now been amended so that it forbids the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors. Clearly all of the revenue from this source must soon disappear. If the habit of using tobacco decreases, as many hope it will, this source of revenue will also be greatly impaired. The taxes on both liquors and tobacco are called sumptuary taxes. This means that they are levied partly for the purpose of discouraging extravagance. In war time the Federal government collected revenue from theaters and other forms of amusement, increased the cost of the postal service, and in other ways provided unusual sources of revenue which will probably never be used in time of peace.

365. New Sources of Permanent Revenue. We have seen that the State governments are turning to incomes and inheritances for their main sources of taxation. It would be difficult, however, for them to administer these forms of taxation without the aid of the Federal government, for people would be tempted to move from State to State in order to conceal their wealth and avoid the tax; and some States would be tempted to keep down their rate in order to attract rich citizens who might pay a smaller tax of some other kind. But the Federal government is now developing

a complete system of finding out where persons live who have large incomes. The information thus collected may be used by the tax officers of the States, and it will be nearly impossible for property to escape its fair share of the nation's burdens. It is thought to be more economical, to levy only a few kinds of taxes if they fall justly on all parts of the community and all kinds of property, for the expense of collection is then smaller in proportion to the amount collected.

366. Budget-Making. The reform of budget-making in America is so important that it may properly be discussed by us in three different parts of our course. We have seen the need of it in our treatment of the government of cities and States. Now we come again to the subject under the organization of the Federal government. We found that the making of a budget for the State is particularly difficult because the governor has no cabinet, and because the members of the State government are not accustomed to working together. We do not find this difficulty in the Federal government. The President appoints ten members to his cabinet, each the head of a great department. Nearly all of the work of the Federal government is divided among these ten departments. Therefore it would not be difficult for the President and his cabinet to plan the budget wisely. But the Congress has never been willing for them to do it; and since the Congress is the law-making body it is able to prevent this great reform.

367. Log-Rolling in Congress. No one denies that there is a great deal of log-rolling in Congress, and that great quantities of money are wasted every year because of it. This does not mean that the members of Congress are less honest or mean less well by their country than the rest of

us; it means merely that our system is badly organized and that the members of Congress cannot resist the temptation to keep the power they have. Each member hesitates to give up the privilege of securing appropriations for his district for he wants to please the voters there and so keep their support. But the system of log-rolling rests also on a theory of government which has been held in America ever since the United States was formed. This theory is that the legislature, which makes laws and appropriates money, should be kept carefully separated from the executive department, which enforces the laws. This theory is not held in any other great country. Presidents Taft and Wilson, and other great American statesmen have tried to persuade the Congress to adopt a wiser budget system, but they are all met with this theory of government, the separation of powers.

368. The Rivers and Harbors Bill. It is the duty of the Federal government to care for navigable streams and harbors. To do this the Congress appropriates large sums of money at each session. It is clear that these appropriations give a fine opportunity for log-rolling. Every member whose district includes any kind of navigable water expects to receive some of the money. Of course he gets none of it for himself, but his popularity is increased among the voters of his district when he secures a fund to improve the waterways near his home. Such expenditures should be recommended only by government engineers after careful surveys of the waters to be improved; but, in fact, they are often made with no reference at all to actual needs.

369. Changing Demands for Money. The greatest outlay of public funds by the Federal government has always

been for some cause associated with war, and unless some international arrangement is made to insure peace our expenses for armies, navies, forts, and munitions is certain to increase. Just before The World War began the United States was devoting seven-tenths of its income to war and its results in the form of pensions. Even with this great outlay we were not prepared for our part in the struggle. But if the governments of the world show themselves wise enough to create organs of coöperation so that armaments may be reduced, great quantities of our Federal revenue may be saved for purposes of education, protection of health, roads, and other such useful service. Money will also be available to pay our consuls and ambassadors reasonable salaries, and to provide adequately for our judges and other public servants who are now insufficiently paid.

370. False Economy. Some political leaders speak as if the reduction of taxes is the best service they can render to their country; but this is not a wise position for them to take. The amount of taxes we pay is not nearly so important to us as the way the money is spent. If our taxes were increased enough to improve the Mississippi River and thus prevent the floods that spread ruin along its course nearly every year, we should be richer rather than poorer because of this outlay. The greatest service our statesmen could render us in the management of our public finances would be to support the President and the governors in a wise budget arrangement so that log-rolling could be removed from our system, and so that the money we do pay in taxes would be expended wisely and economically.

371. The Citizen and the Budget. It is difficult for the

average citizen to know much about the management of public funds for a great nation such as ours. His wisest course is to vote carefully for his representatives in Congress; to demand that the leadership of the President be clear enough to make him responsible for the national budget; and to pay taxes honestly and cheerfully, knowing that they will be expended in the public interest if the government is thus organized and thus manned by representative statesmen.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Get a copy of the report of the United States treasury. The secretary of the treasury will send you one if there is none in the school library. Find out from the report how much money is collected in one year from four different sources of revenue.
2. It is said that to tax incomes below \$1,000 would cost more than the tax would yield. How much is 1-2 of one per cent on \$1,000? How many officials do you suppose take part in getting a dollar of taxes from the citizen into the treasury of the United States? Can you think of any other reason for leaving small incomes free from taxation?
3. If an inheritance tax is levied on an estate, who pays it? Is it paid by the person who left the property, or by the person who receives it? Is it in fact paid by any one? Can you see any reason for "protecting your people from the dangers of unearned wealth"?
4. If the President is the head of the government, and if his heads of departments are in touch with every part of the work of the government, is the President's cabinet a good organ through which to make the national budget? Give three reasons why the members of Congress are opposed to the President making the budget with the aid of his cabinet. If the President made the budget would this take away the power of Congress to prevent extravagance if its members wish to do so?
5. Some one has estimated that it would cost five hundred millions of dollars to protect the Mississippi river from floods. Would it be wise economy to save this money and let the floods continue? If all the money received from taxes were wisely spent would you approve of high or low tax rates?

6. Have you an unnecessary government building in your neighborhood, or one which cost more than any other buildings near it? Can you explain why this building was erected? Explain how it makes a Congressman popular to have Federal money spent in his district.

PART V

SOME GENERAL IDEAS ABOUT SELF-GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XXXIX

SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

372. Rights of Property. We have seen that one of the main reasons for government is to protect property and to define our rights in it. Property is protected because civilization grows only if people work hard, and because they will not work unless they have the benefit of what they produce either with their minds or with their hands. In early times families worked separately and the protection of the home was about the same thing as the protection of property. But since the Industrial Revolution people work in factories or on large farms for wages, and it is very difficult for each to know what he has earned. The employer thinks he earns more than the workman because he supplies capital for the business and makes wise plans. The workman thinks he earns more because he sweats over the daily task. Both are honest men and both wish to look out for a fair distribution of what is earned by the industry in which both of them work.

373. Blind Leaders. It often happens that friction arises between the workmen and the managers over the division of the profits of an industry. One thinks the wages

are too small and the hours too long. The other thinks the hours too short and the wages too high. This is natural for both of them, and any of us in the place of either would perhaps think as he does. The situation is made worse by unwise leaders on both sides of the argument. It often happens that these unwise leaders are not willing to see the arguments of the other side, and wish to have their way without any attention to justice or right. This sort of leadership always makes trouble, for no one is willing to give up his side of an argument without being heard and reasoned with.

374. Socialists. Some of these blind leaders are called *socialists*. Many good people are called by this name, and it is no disgrace. Some of the wisest students of self-government call themselves by it. One trouble with the word is that its meaning is not clear and so we do not always use it for the same idea. If a man's enemy calls him a socialist the word is used to mean "unthinking fault-finder" or "anarchist who does not believe in law." If his friend uses it he generally means one who believes that the government should own and control such things as the railroads, telegraph, telephone, mines, water power, gas and electric plants, in which competition is not economical. It is plain that a word should be used to describe a group of people in the sense in which they mean to use it. There are also many thoughtless people who call themselves socialists but who have no definite ideas and who bring much discredit on those who use the word thoughtfully.

375. Capitalists. Others of the blind leaders are called *capitalists*. Like socialism, the word has two meanings. One describes a person who is willing to forget all about the

welfare of the workman and to secure profits at whatever cost is necessary. A business man never uses the word in this sense. It is so applied only by his enemies. In the other sense, a capitalist is one who thinks that the rights of property are in danger from socialistic unrest, and that these rights must be wisely protected. Such a person often has little patience with government ownership because he sees so much work neglected by public officials. The capitalist of this type is as honest and means as well by his fellow-men as the intelligent socialist. The two classes see the world through different glasses. The words *socialist* and *capitalist* are both used so foolishly that they do more harm than good. We can get along very well without either.

376. Vested Interests. The socialist thinks that property tends to increase in value not because of what the holders do, but because of the growth of population and changing methods of industry. The simplest illustration of their position is the single-tax program. They say that if I own a lot of land in a city it increases in value and my property rights increase whether I do any work for the world or not. They forget that while some of the land increases in value some also decreases, and that I carry the risk of either happening. They also claim that stockholders in great corporations, which use the public streets, receive large incomes which they do not deserve. They think that great quantities of our natural resources such as coal and water power and lumber have been given to people, who hold them for their own profit, and that these people give no benefit to the community in return. Socialists are also apt to say that public income should come from such vested interests. If private individuals own them then they should be heavily

taxed. If the community runs them, the profit from them would support the government. They strongly advocate inheritance taxes, for they say that children should not receive what they have not produced, and that to do so makes them dangerous parasites on the community.

377. Conservatism. The wiser capitalists reply that the socialist argument may be true in theory, but that it is not practical. They think that the government is so inefficient that it would cause more wealth to be wasted if it entered business than the community now loses by private ownership. They claim that the mines and water power are found and developed by private individuals, and that therefore these persons and their children should have them. Capitalists believe that the best sort of community is formed by each person working hard for the welfare of himself and his family, and then voluntarily giving to the community what he wishes to give. For example this practice creates great universities, the givers appointing trustees to care for them. It founds museums and art galleries for the public good, but keeps them in private control because the givers think this method of control is wisest and best. The capitalist thinks that the prosperity of the community will be best conserved in private hands and that private individuals should be protected in safeguarding it from one generation to another.

378. Trade Unions. Large numbers of workmen have formed unions to protect their interests. Some of these are wisely led by thoughtful people; some are foolishly led by those who think force can succeed in a republic where there are laws, courts, and organized authority. It is dangerous to the peace of the community to confuse these different kinds of unions. If the first kind are not dealt with

reasonably the workingmen of the country will think that the government is against them and is in the hands of special interests, when it really is not. They may join unions which rely on the use of force. Even the wiser ones sometimes resort to strikes in order to make the public take time to examine their rights. If the government is well organized we may be able to find some way of examining differences between workmen and employers without any strikes. Some students of the subject believe that the government should provide laws which will require both sides to compromise their difficulties through a court of arbitration. But all students do not yet feel sure that this is the best plan. All of us must patiently work to find out how justice can be done, and all of us must obey the laws until we can change them through education and public opinion without resort to violence.

379. Unions of Capitalists. Employers also form large combinations to protect themselves against the unwise trade unions. Some of these combinations are wise and others not. The unwise ones try to use the government unfairly and to corrupt the makers of law so that the owners of property may secure more than their just share of the world's goods. They do not realize that a wise government and law are the only safe protection to property against a majority of thoughtless people; and that if they use the government corruptly they will ruin it by breaking down our confidence in the republic. There are not many such capitalists, but a few of them can do all of us much harm if we do not understand them and make wise laws to curb them.

380. Reason and Law. It is plain that as the work of the world becomes more and more complex it will be more

and more difficult to divide the profits so that all will be satisfied. Because this is true the need of a well organized government becomes more important all the time. There are only two ways of settling disputes between great bodies of people. One way is by reasoning together; the other way is by fighting. There is now ground for hope that wars between nations may cease. It would be a grievous calamity if fighting began between classes of people as soon as fighting between nations ended. We have seen that law is the expression of the best experience and common sense of the community, and that the community now means the whole world. As conditions change we shall have to reason together in our legislatures with greater and greater wisdom in order to shape our laws to meet public difficulties. Our education must improve and our constitutions be more carefully written in order that there may be wisdom and fairness enough to solve the problems of our complex society.

381. The Citizen. The citizen in the republic has great responsibilities to himself, to his family, and to the generations which are to come after him. The republic is our city, our State, our nation, and the world. It is difficult for us to remember that each person is only one of many millions, and that each often has a different opinion of what is right and best. It is difficult for us to learn to elect the best legislators and other leaders we can, and then submit quietly to the laws which they make whether we approve them or not. Each of us has the temptation to think that those who do not agree with us are dishonest or unfair. Generally they are as fair as we are, but they have different ideas. Remember that even in your associations and clubs fair-minded members do not always agree; and that in your

school it is almost impossible to make a rule with which all are pleased. Remember also that reason is the only basis of self-government.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Read the fifth amendment of the constitution of the United States. What is meant there by taking property without due process of law? Does your State constitution contain a similar provision?
2. The newspapers contain frequent mention of socialists, and socialistic propaganda. Is this because these subjects are important in a self-governing country or because they make sensational reading? What is socialistic propaganda? Is it dangerous in a country where the majority rule, and where justice is expressed in law as nearly as we can arrive at justice?
3. How large is the socialistic vote in your community? How large a proportion of the people in your community could be called capitalists? Do both of these together make up near half of the voters? Can you think of any law that a *majority* of the people of your neighborhood want and cannot get through their government?
4. Marx was the leader of many of the socialists. He believed that the employers and the employés should work against each other and that one must destroy the other. Do you know many people who are not employed by some one? What of the lawyers, doctors, railroad managers, bank officers?
5. Many political problems are problems of the definition of property and our rights to hold it and do with it as we please. Mention two or three such problems. Is there one of these on which a *majority* in your neighborhood may not have its way as soon as it determines what is wise?
6. Do any people in your neighborhood abuse property? That is, do they live extravagant and useless lives because they happen to have too much property? What would you suggest doing with such people? Can you write out a law for them that would not do injustice to industrious people who have property for which they have worked? Try to do so.
7. Would you like to turn over the conservation of our natural resources to the average person who calls himself a *revolutionary* socialist? Why not?

8. Make a list of vested interests. Take any one of those in the list and find out how the present owners got it. Select some person whom you know and who criticises these vested interests. Do you think he would manage them for the community better than the present owners, on the average? Why do you think so?

9. Are labor unions made up of either socialists or capitalists? Are they simply ordinary working people as are nine tenths of us all? Is it wise for them to use violence in their strikes? What would be the result of an effort by a union to resist the law? If all combined would they make up a *majority* which could win their way by force? If so could they win it by voting?

10. If a rich man tries to get his way by fraud is he a fair sample of any class of our people? Do you know any rich men who have done this? See if you can write down the date and place when and where he did so. Was it only a sensational report you were thinking of?

11. Property has grown up because experience has shown it to be the best means of getting people to produce. Abuses are associated with it, and it does some harm. Shall we remove this stimulus to do the work of the world? Food is a necessity for those who work. Some people are gluttons and abuse the fact that they have too much food. We are not yet wise enough to know how to let a man eat what he wishes without letting him injure his health if he wishes. Try to write out a statement of how we may get people to work industriously without letting them keep the property they produce.

CHAPTER XL

PARTIES AND LEADERS

382. Parties Begin. When Washington was elected President there was no opposition to him; he was the choice of all the people. Many supported the new Federal constitution because they knew he would be the President under it. There were no parties at that time. He appointed Jefferson Secretary of State and Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury, and at the cabinet table one sat at his right hand and the other at his left. These two men were as different in their political views as two men could well be and they at once began to oppose each other. Each tried to control the government by influencing the President; each was determined to control it after Washington left the Presidency. To accomplish this each soon began to build up a group of men who he thought would help him. These groups were the beginnings of our political parties. Jefferson's was called the Democratic-Republican, and Hamilton's the Federalist.

383. Party Machines Begin. At first these parties were under the leadership of members of Congress, and nominations for office in the Federal government were made by committees of Congressmen. But political machines soon grew up outside of Congress, and these machines began the custom of calling conventions to make nominations. The politicians also called conventions to nominate officers for the State governments and for the cities. As

soon as they had perfected the machines politics had become pretty well organized. In each city and State were formed committees for each party. The chairmen of these committees ran the politics of the country. Most of the citizens paid little attention to what the machines were doing; they were satisfied to leave politics to those who wished to give their time to it.

384. Politics Disorganized the Government. After the party machines were fully formed the government began to be less democratic. That is, the governors lost power and the private politicians gained it. This was accomplished by changing the State constitutions and by introducing the "spoils system." The constitutions were changed so that a large number of officers were elected instead of appointed. The people knew nothing about these officers; the governors whom the people elected did not have the power to appoint them; therefore they were selected and put in office by the machines through a long ballot election. These officers whom the machines put into power did not leave the civil servants in office, however well they did their work, but removed them after each change of parties in the elections and put in their places party workers who had helped the machine to win the election. The Federal constitution was not changed, but the machines controlled the conventions, and so they also had great influence in the Congress and with the Federal government.

385. Leaders and Bosses. The difference between a leader and a boss is that one is willing to take public office and to become responsible for what he does; the other merely controls a public office through a private machine, and is not responsible for the people he puts into office or for their work. We cannot have self-government without

leaders; and we should have constitutions which require us to elect the leaders to office so that they will have responsibility as well as power. In most of our cities and States we have made the mistake of writing our charters and constitutions in such a way that the men who are in office and who therefore should have the power really have none because they cannot appoint their fellow-workers. The real power is in the hands of the bosses of the political machines who hold no offices. This is not the fault of the bosses, who are generally as good citizens as the rest of us. It is our fault because we elect unfit men to write our constitutions and laws. We neglect our duty and then blame others for the result of our folly.

386. Parties and Public Opinion. Some of us speak as if we can get along under self-government without parties; but this is an error. Parties are necessary, and organizations of politicians are necessary. There must be groups of citizens who find candidates and nominate them for office. Such people have a right to be recognized as the political workers of the community. They are the ones who give time and energies to this task; and their work is important. We often speak as if these groups of citizens, which we call parties, were united by some fixed principles; but this does not always seem to be true. The groups are armies organized to win elections; and they adopt the principles which they think are popular at the time and which will help them to elect their candidates. It is right that they should adopt the principles which are popular; their task is to express public opinion. We express our opinion at elections through the party that nominates a candidate whom we can follow. We frequently have no opinion, but vote for the candidate who happens to catch our fancy.

387. Independents and Parties. Some people always vote with the same party. They vote for whatever candidate their party nominates. Others try to vote independently; that is, they try to find out something about the candidates just before election and then they vote for the one who pleases them. These independent voters generally decide the elections. If all the people voted regularly with their own party every time, the same party would always win; the independent voters swing between the parties and so they force the machines to nominate good candidates who will catch the independent votes. But the independent voter has a hard time of it with a long ballot on which are the names of many candidates. About most of them he can find out nothing; and even if he could, most voters will not take trouble enough to study a long list of names. Therefore the independent votes pretty carefully for the name at the head of the list,—the governor, for example,—but he votes carelessly for all the rest.

388. The President as Leader. The President appoints nearly all of the officers in the national government and is therefore able to do much of the work for which he is elected by the people. But he needs two powers which he does not have; and the constitution should be changed, or the laws corrected, so that he will have them. The first of these is that he should make the budget. If he had this power he could see that the money goes to purposes which are useful instead of being scattered among useless things as it often is now. He should, in the second place, have the right to a seat in the Congress, with his Cabinet and to insist that Congress vote on any new law on which he asks it to vote. The Congressmen would still be free to vote as they wish, but they should have to vote on some laws

which he and his cabinet draw up and which provide what the people of the country want. If he had these two powers he could be the leader of public opinion and of his party.

389. The City Manager as Leader. The manager under the Commission-Manager Plan may be the leader of public opinion in his city. He makes the budget, and sits with the commission. The commission can remove him, but as long as he is manager it is possible for the people of the city to hold him responsible for what he does. He has power enough to do what he wishes. He appoints all the officers and arranges for spending the city money. If the people do not like him they can elect other commissioners who will remove him.

390. The Governor as Leader. The governor in most of our States is not the leader. He does not make a budget; he does not appoint the other officers; and he does not go before the legislature to ask them for what he needs to make the government more efficient. In the States the governor is completely separated from the legislature, and it often pays but little attention to what he recommends. The party boss is generally the leader in the State, and in some of our cities the boss of the city machine controls the government. This is natural because the governor and the mayor have too little power.

391. Leaders and Parties. If the mayor, the governor, and the President had each power enough to lead his party, self-government would be more complete in America than it is. We would then be likely to have two parties in each of these districts. One would be supporting the leader who is in office; and one would be opposing him. Under this arrangement every one would have a party with which to

vote. Every one would be either pleased with the government as it is, or would wish to change it at the next election. The leader of the opposition party would naturally become the candidate for office to defeat the leader who is in power. Our politics would then be clear and simple. We could understand what we are doing.

392. The Long and the Short Ballot. Most of us do not understand how our government is run. We find fault with our governors because they do not enforce the law and do not make wise plans for the States; and we do not know that the governors have but little power to do these things because men who should help them as members of their cabinets are elected separately from them on a long ballot and are opposed to them. We cannot hold the governors responsible unless they can control their helpers. If we had the short ballot, elected only the governor, and permitted him to appoint and remove those who should help him, then we could hold him responsible if the work were not well done. If we are to have the short ballot we must change our constitutions and make those who should be members of the governor's cabinet appointive by him and not elective.

393. Separate Elections. We are greatly confused at election time by the fact that several different kinds of elections come at the same time. If the President and the governor are elected on the same day we are likely to forget about the governor and pay all of our attention to the election of the President. It would be well for the Federal, State, and city elections to come in different years. Then we could give all of our attention to one kind of business at a time. We must not be discouraged because all of these changes do not come at once, however. Our govern-

ment is growing better all the time, and our constitutions are improving.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. You doubtless sympathize with one party, and some of your friends with another. What is the reason for this? Is it because of the way your fathers or mothers vote? Why was the Republican party formed? Is this the reason why people belong to it now? Why was the Democratic party formed? Do people still vote with it for the same reason?
2. Is there a boss in your city? In your State? What does he do to keep his power? His opponents will tell you that he is a dishonest man. Ask them to give you the details of his dishonest acts and see if they can do so. Are they merely repeating rumors? What is their duty if they have knowledge of his dishonest acts?
3. Get a copy of the ballot used in a recent election; count the candidates on it, ask the voters in your family how many of these candidates they know anything about. Tell them you do not want mere rumors. If the voters know nothing about the candidates, who nominates and elects them? Is this a wise arrangement in a democracy? Why?
4. How is public opinion expressed in your neighborhood? Is it not generally expressed by voting with or against some leader? Who are the two opposing leaders in your city; your State; the United States? Ask the voters of your family whether in the last election they voted *for* the candidate or *against* his opponent.
5. We have seen that the State government or the city government is so badly organized that we cannot hold the nominal head of the government responsible. On what basis then do we vote him into or out of office?
6. Why do you think it wise to hold the city, State, and national elections at different times? Why do you think the person elected head of the government should appoint all of his subordinates and remove them if he wishes? If this were done what would the boss have to do?

CHAPTER XLI

ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT

394. Principles of Government. We have discussed the principles of organized self-government. They are simple enough for all to understand. They must be understood by all who wish to live under a real democracy; for democracy is a government by all the people. It cannot be *by the people* unless the people understand it. If we cannot see how our government is organized some one will govern us without our consent. To make government democratic is to make it simple enough to be understood; and it is to organize it so that the elected representatives of the people have power enough to do what those who elect them require. Let us review a few of the main outlines of the principles of organized self-government. They are suited to all units of complete democracy, whether of the city, the State, the nation, or the federated world.

395. The Merit System in Public Service. We speak often of the Civil Service or the service of the community; and we expect that the merit system will be applied there. By this we mean that those who work for the people shall be selected because they know how to do some particular work; and we mean that these workers should be kept in their positions as long as they do their duty. This principle should be applied in all kinds of government where there is work of a definite kind to be done. Postal service, conservation, courts, education, police, fire protection, public

buildings,—all possible kinds of work must be done by people who have been trained for it; and the political opinions of the people who do it should have no effect on their term of office. The great body of the employes of a government should be permanent, trained, well-paid experts, who respect their positions and who are respected by those whom they serve. The uniform of a postman or a policeman is as honorable as that of a soldier or a marine. All alike serve their fellow-men.

396. The Head of the Government. Every government should have an executive head who is responsible to the people of the community which he serves. This head may be elected at popular elections as is the President of the United States; or he may be elected by the legislature as is the city manager or the head of many foreign governments. However he is elected, he should be the real head of the government as long as he is in office. Without such a head there is no responsible leader and our public affairs are in confusion. No private corporation can live without a head; neither can a public one do so. This head should have the right to lead in making laws; he is the director of the departments of government and therefore he knows best what laws are needed. Any one else who opposes him and tries to decide what laws shall be made is the representative of a minority and should not be permitted to have his way unless he can himself be elected head.

397. A Cabinet of Aids. But a head is not sufficient. He must be permitted to appoint a cabinet of aids who will advise him, assist him in directing the departments of civil servants, and generally make his administration successful. He must be their leader and they must obey him; otherwise the government has no leader and it cannot be

held responsible. Every department should be directed by a head who is a member of the cabinet of the chief of the government, whether that chief be called governor, President, or mayor. It is clear that these department heads must be in sympathy with their chief, and therefore they must come into office and go out with him. They do not do particular kinds of work. This is the task of the permanent civil servants. They assist the head of the government, and leave office with him.

398. The Legislature. Every government of every kind must have a body of representatives who make the laws. The commission makes them for the commission-governed cities; the city council in other cities; the legislatures in the States; the Congress in the United States; and if the nations of the world are federated, a law-making body will be needed for that government. Such representatives should be able to know the wishes of all parties in the community which elects them. The head of the government tells the legislature what the administration needs and the representatives of the people tell him whether the community is ready to give him what he asks for. Since all the people cannot meet with him to talk over their needs, they send representatives to do it for them. The legislature may be divided into two houses or it may consist of only one, as the constitution-makers think wise. But it should be so related to the leader of the government that its main duty is to follow him or refuse to follow him. No member of the legislature is elected to lead him, for each member represents a small part of the community.

399. Parties to Express Opinion. The opinion of the community cannot be expressed unless groups of the people organize themselves into parties to demand what they think

is useful for themselves and for the community. These groups are called parties. Under well-organized governments there are likely to be two parties; one supporting the leader in office, and one opposing him. There will be differences of opinion, honest differences, as to whether he is leading the community wisely or not. The people are not divided into honest citizens and dishonest ones. They are divided into people who have different opinions. Government will never be wise and safe until we recognize that those who do not agree with us may be as honest as we are. Our friends differ from us on many subjects and they may be right. It is likely that there are as many honest people in one party as in another; possibly as many wise people in one as in another.

400. The Budget. The central point of discussion in governments as in other associations is the handling of money. Most people could agree about the work of government if there were as much money as any one wishes to spend. Difference of opinion arises when we try to decide where the money is to come from, and what it is to be spent for. If the head of the government is the leader of the majority of the people; and if he is the head of the departments of administration who watch over the work of the government; then he is the person who should organize the budget of expenses. He should apportion the money among the departments. But the representatives of the people should aid him in his final decision. The budget should be laid before the legislature at least once a year; and the legislators should discuss it carefully. If it is a reasonable budget they should approve it; if it has parts which cannot be defended they should vote against those parts and be ready to defend their vote before the people of the

community when the administration is under discussion.

401. The Laws. The head of the government is in constant touch through his cabinet with what the community as a whole needs. The head of the Department of Agriculture knows what the farmers need; the Department of Education knows what the schools need; the Department of Labor knows what is necessary to care for the working people; some cabinet member is in touch with the needs of conservation. All of these things come up for discussion at the cabinet meeting. They are there carefully presented from the point of view of each of the departments. The head of the cabinet and of the government is the one to go before the legislature and ask that laws be made to meet the problems that arise as the work of the government is being done. It is the part of the legislature, speaking for the people its members represent, to decide whether the community is ready for the laws the head wishes.

402. Anarchy, Autocracy, and Democracy. A community is in anarchy when it has no government. A community with a government without a head is near to anarchy. Autocracy is the rule of a head which is not responsible to the community, is not elected by the people or by the representatives of the people. The laws of such a community are not approved by the people who must live under them. Democracy is organized self-government under a leader who is selected by the people or their representatives and is responsible to them. Many people confuse democracy with anarchy. They think democracy is a condition in which each person may do as he pleases. But this is anarchy. If I can do as I please it may please me to take your property and force you to do as I will. People live under law in a democracy; and those few who are not

willing to do this are forced to do it. In no other way can justice and peace be had. If the government is confused the community is near anarchy; if the people cannot understand their government, their community is near autocracy. For some one is governing them whom they have not elected to do it.

403. The People and Their Government. The government in a democracy is a mirror of the people. If they are ignorant it is inefficient. If they are careless it is extravagant. If they are turbulent it is unjust and tyrannical. If they are wise and attentive to their public affairs their government becomes an efficient and useful machine through which they may coöperate in making their community a safe and comfortable place in which to live. One should not find fault with the government, but with the people who are willing to live under it. If people are uneducated it is because citizens have neglected to support their government in providing schools; if any other part of the life of the community is not what it should be, it is because the people have neglected it and have not done their duty. Only an ignorant person demands that the government make the community better. It is for the community to make the government better or be satisfied with the one which it maintains.

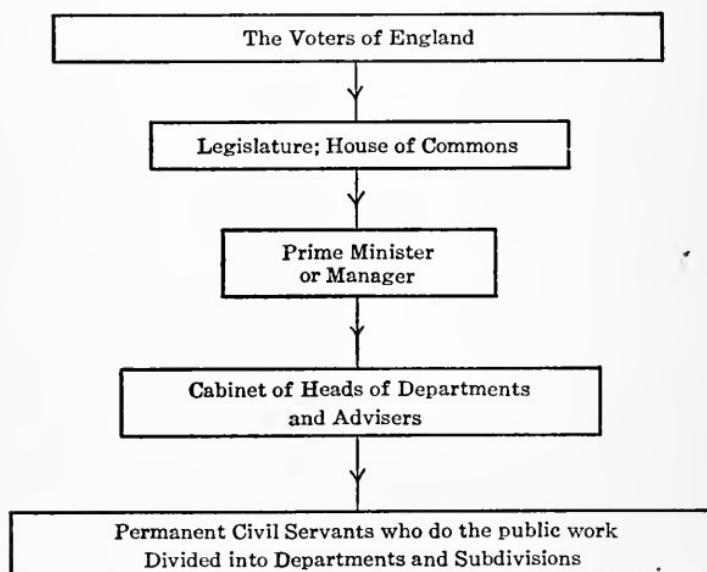
SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. What reasons can you think of why the government of the city, the State, and the United States should not be organized on the same general principles?
2. Why are representatives selected for any government? Are they to do what seems to them wise for the community they represent? Write a brief paragraph stating clearly what you mean by making laws for a community.

3. If a head of the government such as a governor is elected by a majority of all the people is he likely to speak more clearly for all the people than can any one member of the legislature? Should he or the members of the legislature recommend the necessary laws? Who speaks for the people of the United States, the President or separate members of Congress?

4. If there is a head to a government with policies to carry out should he have the right to appoint his aids, the heads of departments, to help him carry out these policies; or should the boss secure the election of heads of departments whom the voters do not know and who will not work with the head of the government?

5. If there is a head of the government who is carrying out policies, are not parties in that government likely to be, one for him and one against him? Does this give the citizen an opportunity to express his approval or disapproval of the administration? Is the average citizen well enough informed to do more than express his general approval or disapproval? What more does any voter in your family do at election time?



This diagram suggests the essentials of the English government. Note its similarity to the Commission-Manager Plan of city government. Note also its simplicity. The voter has to select only a member of the legislature, who speaks for him in all national matters.

6. Look over the diagram of the British government and see if it follows this general plan. England is called the most democratic country in the world. Try to find out how closely her government follows the theories we have been studying for the organization of self-government.

CHAPTER XLII

REAL INTERNATIONAL LAW.

404. A World of Separate States. We have now finished our study of the government of our country. We have also seen something of the relation between our country and the other states of the world. We come now to consider whether it is possible for us to have a government over all the world somewhat similar to our Union of States. Suppose our forty-eight States had no Federal government over them; how long would it be possible for them to live at peace with each other? The great prosperity of North America would be constantly interrupted by quarrels if not by actual war. There are in the world about as many independent states as there are members of our Union. Is there any good reason why these should not unite and live under a lawful government as our States do?

405. The Cost of War. Even in time of peace far more of the income of our Federal government is spent in preparing for war than for all other purposes combined. We have seen that there is much work for this government to do such as conserving our resources, aiding business, improving travel and traffic, encouraging education, and preserving health. Much more could be done along these lines if there were no danger of war. Think also of the hatreds which war leaves behind. The North and South in our country have hardly yet got over the ill-feeling left by our Civil War more than fifty years ago. Until a few years ago

our histories taught hatred of Great Britain because of a war fought over a century ago. These hatreds burn into our minds and weaken them; they retard our civilization in every way. Some countries live like wild animals always ready to spring at each other's throats. Real civilization is very difficult in such circumstances.

406. Some Causes of War. When we spoke of the Critical Period in American history just before our Federal constitution was written, we spoke of the friction between the States because of tariffs, trade, boundaries, and colonies. These same causes bring war between independent countries. The merchants and manufacturers persuade their government to lay taxes on goods brought into the country or taken out of it. By doing so they breed hatred between the business people of different countries. We have no tariffs between our States and many people think there should be none between countries. But some wise statesmen think it will be necessary for some years for tariffs to continue because wages are so different in different countries. This book is not arguing about the tariff, it is merely calling your attention to one of the causes of war. Like the tariff, boundaries, colonies, and the trade with the colonies are all causes of jealousy and hatred. Germany wanted some of the British colonies. Both of these countries and France, Italy and other peoples wanted parts of Africa. England and France almost went to war a few years ago because they could not agree about the boundary between their African colonies. Think of millions of men fighting over the boundary of an African colony! It is like two farmers going to great expense in a law-suit over a line fence.

407. Duels and War. Alexander Hamilton, one of the

greatest American statesmen, was killed in a duel about a hundred years ago. This disgraceful event caused dueling to be given up in America. Hamilton did not want to engage in this uncivilized way of settling a dispute, but public opinion would have disgraced him if he had not shown that he was "brave." Before our civilization became as advanced as it is now, nearly all men carried revolvers and they thought it cowardly to require a man with whom they did not agree to come into court and settle a difference by law. They did not understand that to kill a man does not decide who is right and who is wrong. They thought that might makes right. Now the weakest man and the poorest shot can make the strongest desperado come into court and have a quarrel settled justly. But a weak country cannot bring its opponent into court. A weak country must generally yield to a strong one or die as men used to do in the duel.

408. Some Examples of Bullying. The following examples merely suggest what may happen when there is no government over the states of the world. When differences occur there is usually some right and some wrong on each side, but there is generally more wrong on the side of the strong and more right on the side of the weak. America went to war with Mexico and seized a large amount of valuable territory. Italy treated Turkey the same way only a few years ago. In 1871 Germany defeated France and took from her millions of money as well as Alsace and Lorraine. England went to war with the Transvaal Republic in Africa and took away its independence. When The World War started Germany said to Belgium, "Lie still while I run over you and destroy your friends." Belgium was a pigmy by the side of Germany, but she

fought as best she could and was nearly destroyed. As civilization becomes more perfect war either becomes worse or must be given up. The World War was the worst in history and will leave behind it terrible debts and hatreds. Is it not our duty to try to have government rather than anarchy?

409. International Law. For many centuries the people of the world have tried to substitute civilized methods for war, but the savage in us is hard to conquer. We are all more or less selfish and unreasonable. The growth of civilization is the slow result of centuries of education and self-sacrifice. Many a congress has been held by people from different nations to agree about the use of some river, or to fix some boundary. Countries have agreed not to use certain kinds of weapons in war; and all have agreed to treat ambassadors kindly even in war time. All agree that the white flag and the Red Cross must not be fired on. Gradually treaties have come to be more and more respected just as contracts between men have come to be more and more fully kept. People generally become more honest and keep their word better as time goes on. In recent years there have been meetings at The Hague, the capital of Holland, which were very much like world legislatures. Representatives went from many civilized countries and agreed on rules. But the trouble has been that we had no government to enforce these rules; and rules are of but little use without officers who will compel all to obey them.

410. Taming the Bully. Just as public opinion against dueling grew slowly, so the law among countries has been growing. The better class of men were about ready to give up dueling when Burr killed Hamilton. So we had about hoped that great wars were ended until this recent one

came on us. England, France, and Germany had a solemn treaty that the territory of Belgium should not be invaded. Each feared the other, and it seemed a good thing for all to keep this little state between them. When it suited the convenience of Germany to invade the territory of Belgium, she violated her treaty and ruined Belgium. There may have been two sides to the argument up to this point in the quarrel, but all the world rose against this wrong just as all decent people rose against Burr's murder of Hamilton. Burr's life was completely ruined, and dueling among decent people was ended in our eastern States. Germany's standing in the world was ruined because of this other insult to growing law; and wars may be ended by the need of preventing this kind of thing from happening again.

411. America and the War. When America entered The World War it was the first time in history when a great country went to war purely to see right done and to make international law secure. We had no selfish quarrel with the German Government; we did not hate the German people; we had nothing whatever to win from them. We could have become very rich by staying out of the struggle. But civilization had reached the point when all people demanded that wars must stop and it was clear that their end could never come unless international law could be relied on. We had no treaty with Germany about Belgium; therefore we did not go into the war at once, as England did, on account of her treaty. We wished to have a clear case of a war for law so that a lesson could be taught to all the world that legal rights among nations are important. We were angry with the German Government about Belgium just as honest people are always angry with wrong-doers, but it was not our quarrel at that time,—or so it

seemed to our government. We waited until the German Government had ordered its officers to sink our ships contrary to international rules or law. We corresponded with her rulers until our case was perfectly clear and legal. We then went into the war with all our might to destroy war forever. We hoped to punish that government so completely that no one would ever think again that war is profitable.

412. A Government and Law. As this book is being written the statesmen of the world are meeting to try to form a government for the whole world which will enforce the law of the world against all who violate it. It will be extremely difficult to write this constitution because the countries are so different, and because there are so many selfish interests in all of them, including our own. If all people were perfect we might need neither government nor law; but we need both and both must be strong if right is to be protected. One way to make a beginning is to give the new government power only over those things which may cause great friction. All other matters may be left to home rule within the nations. We have seen that it is important for cities within States to have home rule in the working out of their own difficulties. So it is with nations. Each may be left to solve its own problems so long as it does not injure its neighbors or disturb the peace or health of the world.

413. Hope. We must not be disappointed if a government of the world is not yet created. Our civilization has been growing a long time and we still have much to do. It may take another hundred years or more for the people of the world to see that peace and law are better than war and anarchy. We may have to suffer much more, for we often

have to learn through suffering when we will not be reasonable. Young people must be hopeful and must devote their lives to making the world for the next generation better than it has been for ours.

SUGGESTIONS AND QUESTIONS

1. Why did our thirteen original States unite and form a federal government in 1787? What difficulties did they try in this way to avoid?
2. Make a list of the principal civilized countries in the world now. What kind of problems are likely to cause friction between them? How can their differences be adjusted without war?
3. See if you can find in your own mind any arguments against forming a federation of the nations of the world except selfishness. Are we not disposed to say, "If we submit ourselves to a law of the world things will not go as we want them to; and we are strong enough to have our own way."
4. Unless we do join a league of nations, we cannot be safe without great fleets and armies. Which is wiser: to remain selfishly separate and devote our energies to armament or to join in a self-government of the civilized world and devote our energies to conservation, education, the fighting of disease, and the development of the natural resources of the world? If we selected the latter would we not have all we could do for many generations?

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SOME PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Representative Government. The reason we elect representatives is that it is a waste of time for all of us to study and debate all of the problems which the government has to solve. Therefore we select a few of us, pay them for their time and trouble, and expect them to do for us what we could all do if we had the time. The city council, State legislature, or United States Congress is a committee which we appoint to do our work for us in order that we may give our time and thought to our regular task of making a living. The more carefully we select our representatives the more wisely our work will be done.

Leadership in the Government. Many people profess to be afraid of what they call "one-man government" and they claim that it is undemocratic. But in a well organized government, like the Commission-Manager Plan, the one man who heads the government has no power except what is given to him by the members of the representative assembly or commission and can be taken from him by them at any time. It is not "one-man government" but "one-man responsibility." More than one cannot be responsible, for when there are several they shift the responsibility from one to the other and the government becomes "invisible," the voter is confused, and the people lose interest and confidence in their government. It is necessary for one head to manage the administration and to recommend to the repre-

sentatives the kind of laws he needs in order that the administration may be wise and effective.

A Rule of Law. Laws are the rules that the majority of us think the minority should be forced to obey. These rules are the result first of our long experience; and second of careful discussion among the leaders of our representatives. If we make laws for which the community is not ready the people lose confidence in the wisdom of the government, therefore it is best to make laws slowly; and if we must err in one direction or the other, it is better to make too few laws than too many. But when laws are made and as long as they are laws, the government should force every one to obey them however severe they may be. If they are found to be too severe they should be repealed.

Judges. It is sometimes said that judges use too much power, but they do nothing except apply the law as it is. If we do not like the results of the work of the judges it is our duty to change the law,—either the law of the constitution or the law of the statutes or ordinances. What the judges do is to answer the question, “What is the law?”; they do not make the laws, and they do not enforce them. The laws are enforced by the officers of administration, including the police, constables, and sheriffs. The judges, with the aid of juries, witnesses, and attorneys, tell us what the law is and what our rights are under the law. They are experts and so should be appointed rather than elected.

The Short Ballot Principle. The short ballot principle denies that we can secure expert servants through popular election. This is true because we who vote cannot and will not take the trouble to find out whether the candidates

are experts or not. The only electing that we can do wisely is the selecting of representatives who act for us. We are in the habit in this country of electing large numbers of officers whose names we scarcely know and about whose ability we know nothing. The short ballot principle leads to our electing at any one time only one or two candidates so that we may give careful attention to those we do elect.

Departmentalized Government. Every administration must have a head if it is to be responsible to the people. The head is the responsible part. But the head must have help, and this help we often call a cabinet. The cabinet consists of the heads of those departments into which the work of the government is divided. If there are too many departments the cabinet becomes too large; if there are too few departments the work of each member of the cabinet becomes too complicated. The size of the cabinet and the number of departments depends on the amount of work and the number of kinds of work to be done by the government. It is usual to think of a cabinet of from five to ten or a dozen members. The head of the government should appoint to and remove from his cabinet any person he wishes. If he cannot do this we cannot hold the head responsible.

The Merit System in the Civil Service. A civil servant is one who does some particular kind of work for the government. He may be a postmaster, a policeman, a fireman, a student of agriculture, a forester, a stenographer, a chemist, a bookkeeper, or one who is trained to do any kind of work that the government wishes to have done. The wise statesman when he becomes head of the government leaves all such civil servants in their positions; the unwise one is likely to try to remove some of them in order to make places

for his friends. The most efficient governments now forbid the appointment of any one to a civil service position until he has passed an examination to show that he is able to do the work that will be expected of him. It is clear that there are two kinds of officials in the government: first, those who do the work, and whom we call civil servants; second, those who watch the government for us. The latter we select and remove as public opinion changes; the former we let the leaders of our government appoint, and we keep them in office as long as they do their particular kind of work faithfully. When they are too old to work we should pension them.

The Executive Budget. A leading problem in the organization of government is to unite leadership with responsibility in the hands of one person and then control this one person through our representatives. The collecting and spending of money is an important part of the work of the government. It is well to make the head of the government responsible for this part as well as for the rest. A budget is a statement of the amount of property the community has, the amount of its debts, its expenses for the ensuing year, and the way it is to get the money to meet these expenses. In order that the citizen and his representatives may understand the reasons for expending the money the government needs and the reasons for taxing the property to be taxed, the budget for each year should show clearly every separate increase or decrease and explain each so simply that the average person may be able to understand it. The government should hold public hearings on the budget. The head of the government (the manager, governor, or president) should appear before the representatives of the people and explain the items in the

budget fully so that all may understand what the government wishes to do. The representatives of the people should not increase the budget, for the head of the government will generally ask for enough for the public needs, but they should decrease it if they think the amounts are too large. Those who are doing the work of the government are the best judges of what money they need. It is for the representatives of the people to tell them whether they may have so much or not.

Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. These means of controlling the government are for use when the representatives of the people refuse to obey the will of the community. They constitute a peaceful way of making a revolution when the majority think the government does not represent them. The legislature is to make the laws the people want; if it does not do this, the people may take the task into their own hands through the initiative and referendum. The administrative officers are to carry out the law. If they do not do this the people may remove them from office through the recall. But the use of these means costs a great deal of money; it requires a great deal of work on the part of private citizens; it should not be necessary to use it frequently. It is only a means of giving the control of the government back to the majority. The percentage of voters necessary to make effective a petition for any of these purposes should be large enough to prevent thoughtless people from trying to disturb the community with frequent elections. The number of votes necessary to enact a law or to remove an officer through these means should be large enough to make it certain that the action is approved by a majority of the community.

SOME PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY

Our interest in our government may be more vital if we remember it is the organization of our communities through which we try, with the aid of the most expert servants obtainable, to solve the problems which are presented to us in our efforts to make life on the earth as fine a thing as it should and might be. Among these problems are the following:

Knowledge of Our Resources. We need to know where the minerals of the earth are, and which of them are or may soon be useful to us. This knowledge may be obtained through scientific study. We need to understand the soil of the earth, and the best uses to which it may be put. We need to know what forests there are, where they are located, what woods are most useful, whether these kinds of wood are increasing or decreasing, and why. We need knowledge of the animal life of the earth, and the conditions under which useful birds and animals can best be preserved or increased. It is important for us to increase our knowledge of the weather, so that we may prepare for our protection against storms, blizzards, cyclones, and other natural disturbances; and also that we may make the best use of those regions that are naturally dry or wet, naturally hot or cold. It is important for us to study the streams that are useful for navigation, the conditions and currents of the oceans, the content of ocean waters which contain useful minerals, the action of the tides so that these great movements of water may be converted into electricity for light, heat, and power, as we now use the streams that flow from the mountains. All of this knowledge and more, such as the action of the astronomical bodies, may by pa-

tient scientific study and through wise coöperation be obtained and passed down from generation to generation.

Conservation of Our Resources. As these resources become better known through scientific research in the universities and through such instrumentalities as the Smithsonian Institution, private persons will be naturally tempted in two directions. First, they will be tempted to grasp too large a share of the resources for themselves, forgetting their duty to the community which aided in their discovery; and second, each generation will be tempted to use the resources extravagantly, forgetting that they must be carefully conserved for our children and our children's children. Men make fortunes to bequeath to their children, but forget that the resources of the world must be conserved if these fortunes are to be most useful investments for their children. Therefore our law-making bodies must study the methods of making rules for the use of our resources so that these natural temptations of our people may be resisted and so that the wealth of the world may be handled as a wise man would handle his estate.

Coöperation in Using Our Resources. But the wealth of the world is for the use of its people. We must not become misers, thinking only of holding useful things out of use. We must develop farming, stock-raising, and manufacturing so that the raw materials of the world will be used to make life comfortable, happy, and wholesome for our generation as well as those of the future. Our government is organized for the purpose of promoting industry, protecting those who work in it, and encouraging them to work by seeing to it that each worker has a fair share of all that he produces. Therefore our government is faced by problems of organizing workers into great corporations;

some of the workers to use their hands and others to use their brains in guiding those who work with their hands. It is extremely difficult to know what part of the income of such a combination should go to the brain workers and what part to the hand workers; but if we select wise legislators to act for us we shall come as near solving this problem as the wisdom of the world makes possible. We shall never help matters through strife and confusion, only through patient coöperation under wise leadership.

Transportation. The resources of the world must not only be worked into useful things, such as food, clothes, furniture, fuel, building materials, and the like; but these things must be transported thousands of miles so that all the people of the world may have access to all the products of the world. It is wise to produce wheat where it may be most economically grown, and hides, and coal, and other things; and therefore it is wise to give much attention to the development and control of roads, railroads, canals, ocean navigation, and even air navigation, in order that goods may be most cheaply shipped and easily distributed through markets and retail dealers to those who will consume them. This question is one that almost staggers the strongest minds of our day. Our systems of transportation are not as economical as we can make them. Railroads do not run straight, and do not carry goods by the shortest distances; some shippers have unfair advantages over their competitors; and many other conditions exist that our governments must correct. Trade is made difficult through the imposition of tariffs and other restrictions. But the way to solve our problems of transportation is not to waste time finding fault in an aimless fashion. Any fool can find fault; it takes brains and training to help to find a better

way. All of us think we can find better ways, but we do not agree. Governments exist for the purposes of studying such problems carefully and finding out those solutions on which the majority of us are willing to agree. Let us be patient and select legislators wisely and then support them loyally when they are doing the best they can.

Money. Trade cannot be carried on without a measure of value. The question of finance is too difficult for us to discuss, but to arrange a system of money for the business of the world and to maintain a fair measure of prices and debts still tax the best brains of the world. For example it is a sad thing that Great Britain uses the old-fashioned pounds and shillings while many other countries use the more convenient decimal system. Such hindrances to trade will in time be removed, but it does no good to become angry because all of them are not removed at once. Let us entrust our efforts to remove them to those who have by their success in life shown that they are capable of solving other problems. He that is faithful over a few things will be and should be made ruler over many things.

Other Fundamental Problems. We must try to find means of *educating* all the people of the world so that each will be best fitted for his part in the work of the world. This will cost great sums of money, careful planning, and patient administration. It will not come in a day. But the other problems we have discussed will not be solved until this one is nearer to solution. The care of *health* will continue for many generations to tax the best skill of our best trained experts. *Recreation* is an important means of securing health, and opportunities for wholesome play for children and wholesome relaxation for grown people must not be overlooked when we plan the work our government is

to do for us. *Taxation* suggests a great problem, for all of the service we have mentioned must be paid for; and each of us is tempted to think other people should pay the taxes. Speeches on the street corner will not find wise methods of taxation. Only careful study by men and women of long training and experience will do it. Don't waste time listening to those who only talk! Let us be sure that we are doing some useful work and let us leave the task of finding a fair method of taxation to our public servants whom we select for this purpose.

Problems of Organization. Our political problems are those which have to do with the arrangement of our government. *Home Rule* brings up the question what things we shall assign to our city government to do, what things to our State, what to our Federal government, and what things might be entrusted to a union of the great nations if the world. *Short Ballot*, *Civil Service Reform*, and other political terms suggest the efforts we are making to find wise methods of so organizing our government that we shall be willing to go about our business and turn our political questions over to our constituted authorities.

Study, Work, Patience, and a Spirit of Loyal Coöperation, these will advance our world toward peace, happiness, and justice. None of these will be promoted through strife, fault-finding, hysteria, or unfair selfishness.

CITY OFFICERS.

Mayor. The mayor is generally the principal officer of a city government. He is generally elected by the people, and serves for a term of one to four years; but he is fre-

quently reelected and so in some cases remains in office, ten, fifteen or more years. In some cities he is subject to recall by the people. In most cities the mayor has three kinds of powers: he may veto legislation enacted by the council; appoint a large number of city officers; and influence the appropriation of city money. The veto power can generally be overridden by a two thirds vote of the council. In a city with the commission-manager government, the duties of the mayor, if there is one, are generally those of presiding over the council; representing the city in formal matters such as receiving strangers; and seeing that the laws are enforced if specially directed to do so by the council. In other cities his main power comes from his right to appoint most of the officers listed below and to require reports from them in writing.

Police Commissioner. The policemen of the city are generally under the authority of one or more police commissioners who are appointed by the mayor or city manager. These commissioners are not policemen, but are citizens whose duty it is to see that the police department does not become bureaucratic,—that is, that it does not get away from the control of the citizens whom the department should serve.

Other Police Officers. The police department is often made up of *patrolmen*, each of whom is assigned to a given district in the city which it is his duty to guard and in which he gives to the citizen a multitude of different kinds of aid; *sergeants*, who are immediately superior to the patrolmen and who see that the patrolmen do their duty; *captains*, who are next above the sergeants; and the *chief of police*, who is a professional policeman at the head of the department. There are other officers connected with the

police department; but enough have been mentioned to illustrate the military organization of the force.

Fire Commissioner. In control of the fire department there is generally a citizen commissioner, appointed by the mayor or the city manager as is the police commissioner. Frequently the two departments are united under one *commissioner of public safety*. The fire department itself is organized on the military principle as is the police department, with *fire-fighters, lieutenants, captains, and a chief*. In a large city the department is likely to be divided into bureaus, such as fire prevention, fire extinguishment, fire investigation, etc.

Superintendent of Education. At the head of the department of education is generally a *superintendent* who is an expert in education. In most cities he is appointed by a *board of education* which is appointed by the mayor or elected by the people. The Model Charter recommends that he be appointed by the city manager. He is in full charge of the educational work of the city, is assisted by a group of *assistant or associate superintendents* if the city is large, and is generally kept in office a long time.

Commissioner of Health. In some cities there is a department of health with a commissioner at its head. He is generally an expert in his field and is frequently a doctor who has made a reputation in private practice. In some other cities the public health is cared for by a *board of health*. It is difficult to describe the organization of this part of the city's work because it is so closely related with that of the State, and because it is as yet so weakly organized.

Finance Officers. Under the Model Charter the financial matters of the city are placed under the control of the Director of Finance; but in most cities either the people

elect or the mayor appoints the following kinds of finance officers who work more or less independently of each other: *assessors*, who determine the value of property and estimate how much money each citizen shall pay into the city treasury in the form of taxes or assessments; *collectors*, who send out the tax bills and collect the amounts which the assessors have determined; *treasurers*, who safeguard and care for the money of the city after it has been paid in, making sure that the places where it is deposited are safe; and *auditors* or *comptrollers*, who keep the accounts of the city, authorize the treasurer to pay out money, and see that there are proper receipts for all money so paid out.

Director of Public Works. Under the Model Charter one department head would preside over the building of streets and parks, keeping the city clean, and building sewers, bridges, water-works, etc. He would appoint subordinates to look after the several divisions of the department of public works. At present in many cities the people elect or the mayor appoints a number of different officers to attend to these parts of the city's affairs. We often find a *commissioner of street cleaning*, whose task explains itself; a *park commissioner*, a *city engineer*, and a *department of docks and ferries* with a separate head, appointed by the mayor.

City Planning Commission. The task of those who plan a city has already been sufficiently explained in the text.

Civil Service Commission. The civil service commission may consist of a group of three or more persons, generally representing both of the leading political parties. It is the duty of the commission to conduct examinations for those who wish to be appointed to positions in the civil service and to certify to the appointing authorities that the

persons whose names appear on certain lists are suitable for appointment. The commission often has the authority to prevent salaries from being paid to persons improperly appointed.

STATE OFFICERS

Governor. The governor is the chief executive of the State government; he is elected by the people and serves for a term of two or four years, being often reëlected for a second term. It is his duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed by other State officers and by those county officers who do the work of the State in their counties. He therefore has considerable power of appointment, which it is necessary for him to use in filling offices; and not a little power of removal, which he uses very little, permitting most office holders to serve out the terms for which they are appointed. It is also his duty to stimulate the legislature to action on matters in which the people of the State are interested, and this duty he performs by sending messages to the legislature and by calling it together in special sessions for special purposes. The governor may veto bills passed by the legislature, and thus prevent them from becoming laws unless they are passed over his veto by two thirds of the legislators. The effectiveness of the governor's position is much less than it would be if he had the right to do two things: first to appoint and remove the heads of the larger departments of administration; and second to sit in the legislature and lead its discussion of questions in which the people of the whole State are interested. The governor has many miscellaneous powers and duties, one of the most important being the pardoning power.

Secretary of State. The secretary of state is one of the

officers who should be appointed by the governor but who is now elected by the people in all of the States. It is his duty to keep a record of public acts; to give authority to documents by placing on them his signature and the seal of the State; and to keep copies of public documents. Many other duties are assigned to his office in different States, such as aiding in the conduct of elections, granting of licenses, supervising corporations, etc. His term of office is generally of the same length as that of the governor of his State.

Attorney-General. The attorney-general is another of the principal State officers who are now elected but who should be appointed by the governor. It is the duty of the governor to see that the laws of the State are executed, but he must depend on the attorney-general for advice, and must act through him when it is necessary to prosecute wrong-doers. If the attorney-general does not wish to act it is almost impossible for the governor to do his duty. The attorney-general also is the legal adviser of all the other important State departments. This is another reason why their offices and his should be under one direction,—that of the governor.

Treasurer. The treasurer of any unit of government has about the same duties as has the treasurer of a city. The State treasurer receives the public money from the tax officers and others who collect it; deposits it in banks which he must be sure are safe; and pays it out on the order of other authorized officers. He also generally has charge of the issue of bonds when it is necessary for the government of his State to borrow money. He is generally elected for a term of the same length as that of the governor of his State.

Auditor or Comptroller. The duties of an auditor are

about the same whether he serves the city, the State, or some other unit of government. The auditor must approve bills before they may be paid by the treasurer; he must examine the accounts of the treasurer and report his findings to the legislature; in a word his duty is to see that the public moneys are correctly accounted for and are paid out only in accordance with the law. This officer is usually elected for a term of the same length as that of the governor of his State. He might well be appointed by the governor.

Other State Officers. In most of our States the affairs of the State are entrusted to such a confusing and unorganized body of officers, that it is impossible to discuss them intelligently in a brief space. Some of the principal ones will be mentioned and given brief comment. The *Superintendent of Schools* is sometimes elected and sometimes appointed by a State Board of Education. His duty is to stimulate education, promote coöperation among institutions, collect and distribute information, and generally to supervise the carrying out of the State education law. The *Superintendent of Insurance* is expected to supervise insurance companies doing business in the State with sufficient thoroughness to prevent persons who insure themselves from suffering loss through dishonesty or mismanagement on the part of the companies. The *Highway Commissioner* presides in a general way over the development of the highway system of the State, collecting information as to the use of roads, the need of new highways, the methods of building and maintaining them, etc. In many States there are many *boards and commissions* which have powers not clearly defined, serve for long terms with but little supervision on the part of the governor and with but little knowledge on the part of any representative of the people as to

their activities. These boards and commissions in large measure account for the expenses of the States. Among them may be mentioned the following: public service commission, board of education, tax commissioners, board of charities, conservation commission, printing board, library commission, fish and game commission, and so on.

COUNTY OFFICERS

Some of the county officers are engaged in enforcing State laws, and it would be better if these were appointed by the governor of the State. As it is, most of them are elected by the people of the county on a long ballot, and they are therefore not carefully selected. The following list of them is merely to indicate the kind of work they have to do.

Under the list of city and State officers, no mention has been made of the legislatures or councils, for they have been sufficiently discussed in the text. But the *County Board* is often forgotten or neglected by the citizens, and it must be mentioned here as the legislature of the county with very considerable powers. Those who would improve the county government would like to see this board changed into a small commission for the county with the power to elect a county manager, who in turn would appoint those officers who would preside over such work of the county as managing the schools (unless the county superintendent is appointed by the State superintendent), building roads and bridges, assessing property for taxation, collecting taxes, caring for the money of the county and seeing that it is honestly accounted for, looking after the poor and other dependent classes, and the like.

Sheriff. The sheriff is the typical county officer. His

duty is to preserve the peace, arrest criminals, serve orders of the courts, and generally to represent the authorities of the county and the State in the enforcement of the law. In performing his duty he is frequently assisted by deputy sheriffs, and he may require citizens to act with him in suppressing disorder whenever he thinks it is necessary. He may also call on the governor to send State troops to his assistance.

Assessor, Auditor, Treasurer. The functions of assessors, auditors and treasurers have been explained under their names in the list of city officers.

Clerk. The clerk of the county is frequently also clerk of the county court, but when this is true he performs two different functions, and they should be kept clear. The clerk of the county is strictly an officer of the county, keeps the records of the county board, and acts as the board's secretary. But he also acts as a representative of the State government in the conduct of elections, issuance of licenses, and the like.

Recorders of Deeds, Wills, and Mortgages. In some parts of the country the work of recording deeds to property, wills, and mortgages is done by county officers; in others by town officers. The importance of having this work systematically and carefully done is apparent. The title to real property and the conduct of much business depends on it. A member of the political party in power is frequently given the position of recorder or register and the work is done by a deputy or subordinate. The deputy is kept permanently in office and so knows how to do the work with which he is charged, but the superior officer draws the larger salary for doing nothing.

Coroner. If a person dies in such a way as to awaken

suspicion that he may have been the victim of a crime it is the duty of the coroner to hold an inquest over the body and to render a verdict as to how the death occurred. The office of coroner has been abolished in some places because it has been thought that the work assigned to it can better be done by other officers, such as a medical doctor and a prosecuting attorney.

District Attorney. The work of prosecuting those who violate the law is entrusted to an officer in the county who is variously called, in different States, the State's Attorney, Prosecuting Attorney, or District Attorney. This officer is really an assistant to the attorney-general of the State and might well be appointed by him.

TOWN OFFICERS

In New England much of the work done by county officers in some other parts of the country is done by officers of the *town*, which is a division of the county. In some other parts of the country this work is divided in still a third way, some of it being done by the officers of the town or township and some by the officers of the county.

In some towns the people hold a general assembly called the *Town Meeting* and elect their officers directly at the meeting. At this meeting the people also vote on such matters as ordinances, taxes, town debts, the spending of money for particular purposes such as buildings, the location of school and other buildings, and any other things that seem to the citizens important to the town. The complexity of the work to be done and the density of the population of the town determine the number of officers that the people think it necessary for the town to have and to elect. Where there are but few officers each does a number of

things which in a densely populated town would be divided among several different officers.

Selectmen or Trustees. To look after the affairs of the town in a general way the people elect a small group of officers called selectmen or trustees. These officers call town meetings, lay out roads, grant licenses, arrange for elections, look after the property of the town, represent the town in business matters, and report to the town meeting on the affairs of the community.

Clerk. The clerk of the town keeps the records of the town meetings, preserves the archives, issues licenses, records births and deaths, and in some States records the sale of real estate, wills, and mortgages, and generally acts as the secretary of the trustees or selectmen.

Miscellaneous Officers. Where the work of the town is complex enough to justify it, some or all of the following officers are provided: assessors, treasurers, auditors, overseers of the poor, highway commissioners or overseers, school committees or superintendents, constables (corresponding to the sheriff of the county), boards of health, park commissioners, surveyors to mark out boundaries and lines, wardens for fish and game laws, inspectors of weights and measures, officers for fire protection, and the like. The work of each of these officers is indicated by his title, and is generally closely related to the work of State officers whose duty it is to see that the laws of the State are enforced.

UNITED STATES OFFICERS

President. The President's position in the government of the United States is similar to that of the city manager in the government of a city under the commission-manager

plan; but there are two great differences. The President is the leader of a great political party and has much power by reason of this position which the city manager does not have; the President is elected for a term of four years independently of the Congress and so is sharply separated from the legislators while the city manager is selected by the commission or legislature of the city without a definite term and is dependent upon the commission. In theory the President is elected by electors chosen by the people; in fact he is nominated by one of the great party conventions, which meet in the summer before the election, and the nomination is approved by the people at the election in November, every fourth year.

The President has great powers by reason of the fact that he appoints all of the administrative and judicial officers of the United States, of which there are many thousand. The administrative officers are in the main divided into ten great departments, each department being under the direction of a member of the President's cabinet, whom he appoints with the consent of the Senate and may remove without such consent. Because of this power, the President may justly be held responsible for all the work of the government during his term. This is the great difference between his position and that of the governor of a State where the governor has no cabinet and but little control over his administration. The heads of the ten great departments are described below in the order of the creation of the departments. Each head is aided in his work by several assistants; but most of the actual work is done by civil servants, who are not removed from office when a new President comes in. This fact gives permanency and efficiency to the service.

The President also exercises a good deal of influence over the making of laws, for he sends a message or delivers an address (Washington, John Adams, and Wilson have done the latter) at the beginning of each session of the Congress and at other times, telling it his policies and urging it to enact laws which are needed by the country. He may also influence legislation through his position as party leader, persuading the members of his party to work together for his policies. And he may veto acts of the Congress, preventing those acts which he does not approve unless as many as two thirds of both houses of the Congress pass such acts over his veto. The President is in a good position to propose laws to the Congress and to criticise their acts because, through his ten great departments covering all the work and life of the nation, he is constantly in touch with all our needs. His ten secretaries or assistants are constantly telling him what laws they need to aid them in doing their work.

The President may also pardon persons convicted of crime in the Federal courts. At the request of the governor of a State he may send Federal troops to suppress disorder. He conducts, through the Secretary of State, all of our relations with foreign countries, and in times of great stress he conducts these relations directly himself, taking the correspondence out of the hands of the Secretary. It is a pity that the President does not have the power to make an annual budget of the income and expenses of the government, and to sit in the Congress for the purpose of explaining and debating his policies with its members, for he is the only representative of all the people of the United States, and he is in a position to understand all the needs of the country better than any other one person in power.

We hold him responsible for the success of his administration and he should have these additional powers.

Secretary of State.¹ The Secretary of State has two kinds of work to do. The first is similar to that of the secretary of state in the government of a State. He affixes the seal, indicating the authority of the government, to public documents; and he sees to the preservation and safe-keeping of copies of such documents in the public archives. The second is his duty as the President's representative in dealing with foreign countries. He is generally entrusted with the selection of most of those officers whom we send to foreign countries to represent us there and to look after the interests of the United States; and he conducts correspondence with foreign governments. It should be remembered that, while the Secretary of State is likely to change with each President, there are permanent officers in the department who carry on the work from term to term, know how our relations with foreign governments have previously been conducted, know the form in which proclamations of the President, such as that of Thanksgiving, have been issued, and are familiar with the method of giving authority to the acts of the Congress. On these permanent officers, the President and the Secretary of State must constantly depend.

Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury is the representative of the President in handling our financial problems. His department, composed, like the others, mainly of permanent civil servants, collects the Federal taxes, keeps the public money safely deposited, and

¹ The first four departments, State, Treasury, War, Justice, were created when the government was set in motion under the constitution, which was written in 1787. The others have been created one at a time, since then, as they seemed to be needed

pays it out when directed to do so by law. He also has supervision of the coinage of money, the issuing of paper money, the selling of bonds and the payment of the debts which the bonds represent, the inspection of banks, and many other things which we cannot mention. There are of course many thousands of civil servants engaged in this work,—engravers, assessors, auditors, book-keepers, statisticians, guards, and the like. It is a remarkable fact that the Federal work for the protection of health is now largely in this department, including the work of the life-savers along the sea coast and the supervision of the quarantine. If the Federal government should adopt the executive budget plan for its finances, the Secretary of the Treasury would probably be the official who would supervise the making of the budget for the President.

Secretary of War. The title of the Secretary of War explains the duties which are assigned to him under the President. He sees to it that our armies are ready for war, that the military academy at West Point is efficiently conducted, that water-ways through which our military activities must take place within our territory are not blocked in any way. Here again it must be remembered that he is only a supervising officer for the President to see that the army answers to public opinion. The actual management of our military affairs is in the hands of permanent generals, of the General Staff which makes plans and works out policies, and of other permanent public servants, who do not go out of office when we elect a new President.

Attorney-General. The duties of the Attorney-General of the United States are very similar to those of the like named officers in the several States. He is the legal adviser of the President and the other officers working under him;

he prosecutes those who violate the laws of the United States; and in a general way assists the President in matters requiring special legal knowledge. Under his direction are a great number of district attorneys who represent the government of the United States in different parts of the country in prosecuting criminals and enforcing the laws. He supervises the work of the United States marshals, the clerks of the Federal courts, and the Federal prisons and other similar institutions. The district attorneys of the United States are all appointed under the direction of the President; while the district attorneys of the States, who may properly be compared with them, are elected by the people. This practice makes it much more difficult to enforce State laws efficiently than to enforce Federal laws. The Federal system is one organized body; the State system is not well organized.

Secretary of the Navy. In 1798 the administration of the Navy was taken out of the War Department and placed under a separate member of the President's Cabinet. While the work of the Navy, like that of the Army, is carried on by permanent members of it under the direction of the admirals, the Secretary of the Navy has supervision of it all for the President; and it is his duty to see that the demands of public opinion are met when the Navy is in need of reform.

Postmaster-General. In 1829 the Postmaster-General was given a seat in the President's cabinet, and since that time his work has been given full recognition with that of the other heads of departments. All of the postal officers throughout the United States are under his direction; and, under the President, he is responsible to the people of the country if the postal service is not as efficient as we may .

reasonably expect it to be. This service includes the collection of mail, its distribution throughout the country and to foreign lands, and its delivery in cities and through rural delivery systems.

Secretary of the Interior. It is difficult to describe the work of the Department of the Interior, for it is a sort of *Department of Left-Overs*. In it was assembled what did not seem to belong in the hands of the officers already mentioned above; from it has been taken the work of the newer departments mentioned below. The Secretary of the Interior has supervision through the *Commissioner of Education*, who is the head of the *Bureau of Education*, of the work done by the United States Government for the promotion of education throughout the country. This is but little at present because the Congress votes but little money for it; yet this little provides for the collection and distribution of much useful information which is available for teachers and school administrators throughout the country. The Department of the Interior controls the great work being done for the conservation of our natural resources through irrigation, creation of forest reservations, prevention of floods, protection of mineral lands, and the like. The *Geological Survey* to provide information about the mineral and other similar resources is a part of this department. Here also is the *General Land Office* in charge of our public lands; the *Office of Indian Affairs*, administering what is left of the Indian tribes; the *Pension Bureau*; the *Patent Office* which protects the rights of inventors; and many other odds and ends of administration. The department was erected and its head given a seat in the cabinet in 1849.

Secretary of Agriculture. The Department of Agricul-

ture was created in 1889 to promote the wise cultivation of the soil, to conserve its fertility, to stimulate the use of the best seeds, and to aid in the developing of the most useful breeds of domestic animals, such as horses, cattle, hogs, fowls, and the like. In the department is the *Weather Bureau*, which studies the causes of changing weather conditions and publishes information throughout the country to aid those who depend on knowledge of sudden changes in the weather. Among the main divisions of its work are the *Bureau of Animal Industry*; of *Plant Industry*; the *Forest Service*, caring for the national forests and engaged in studying methods of producing the best kinds of wood; the *Bureau of Chemistry*; of *Soils*; of *Entomology* engaged in the study of insects and diseases associated with insect life; and the *Biological Survey*, which studies animal life of all kinds with a view to preserving the best of it and making it useful to mankind. This department also looks after the enforcement of the Pure Food and Drug Act.

Secretary of Commerce. In 1903 was created a Department of Commerce and Labor, and from this in 1913 a part of its work was taken and placed in a Department of Labor. It is the duty of the Department of Commerce to advise the President in those matters of commerce to which the United States Government should give its attention, and to administer the bureaus through which the Federal Government lends its aid to the business of the country and of the world. Some of its duties may be indicated by the names of its bureaus. The *Bureau of Standards* uses the authority of the government to regulate weights and measures so that they may be reliable aids to business, preserving a standard pound, yard, bushel, and

the like. It also cares for much more difficult things, such as the units by which we measure electricity, heat, light, etc. *The Bureau of Fisheries* looks after the fish and fur-bearing seals. The department is perfecting a *Coast and Geodetic Survey*, which thoroughly describes the waters about our coasts, thus aiding those who navigate these waters, and giving accuracy to the knowledge of our boundaries. *The Bureau of Census* makes a complete survey of our people every ten years, supplying a multitude of facts about their occupations, race, and other conditions which make the study of our life more accurate and useful. *The Bureau of Corporations* studies corporations and their activities, aiding the President to recommend wise legislation for the aid of those corporations which serve the people and for the suppression of those which do not. *The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce* studies the reports which our consuls send from foreign countries, and undertakes many other tasks to aid our manufacturers who ship abroad and to promote a wise interchange of goods among our people and the countries of the world. There are also bureaus of *Lighthouses* and *Steamboat Inspection*.

Secretary of Labor. In 1913 the work it was thought that the Federal Government should do to regulate the conditions of labor in our country became so important that it was assigned to a separate department with a member of the cabinet at its head. Its work had hardly gotten started when the World War broke out, and so it is not yet fully developed; but the department already has a *Bureau of Statistics*, which collects and distributes information as to the conditions in which laborers work in this country and abroad so that scholars may study these conditions and make wise recommendations for their improvement; *Bureau*

of Immigration, which supervises our work in the interest of immigrants from foreign countries, aiding them with useful information about places to live and opportunities for work; *Children's Bureau*, which studies the birth rate, children's work, their health, their dangers, and so on, thus striving to provide strong and useful people in our country; and *Bureau of Naturalization*, which has charge of making citizens out of the immigrants.

New Departments. It is likely that before many years the work of the Federal Government in the interest of education will be taken out of the Department of the Interior and other departments and placed under a Secretary of Education, who will have a seat in the President's cabinet and will be given more funds and larger powers to stimulate public interest in education. Also the work for the protection of health may be taken out of the War Department and other departments, and united in a Department of Health with a member of the President's cabinet at its head. It is desirable that still further effort be made to distribute the work of the Federal Government among carefully organized departments in order that the people may understand it better and so become more and more interested in their government.

Other Organs of the Federal Administration. Some of the work of the Federal Government has not been assigned to the departments under the direction of members of the President's cabinet. There has been some tendency to make commissions and boards like those of the States and so to scatter the work too much. As an illustration of this tendency may be mentioned the work of the *Interstate Commerce Commission*, which was created in 1889 and which has the duty of regulating the work of what are

called "common carriers," such as railroad and steamship companies. The Federal Government has enormous powers growing out of its right to control commerce between the States and to say what kind of goods may be shipped in such commerce. These powers it uses to require all carriers to give every shipper an equal opportunity to carry on business with fair rates, a fair use of the cars, and with equal promptness. The Commission tries to prevent large shippers from having better facilities for shipping their goods than the small business men, and so to promote useful competition. It is not clear why this work might not be done under the Department of Commerce. The *Federal Trade Commission*, created in 1914, supplements the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission in regulating interstate and international trade, and in preventing unfair methods of competition. This commission might also be included in the Department of Commerce so that the work of the government might be more systematic. The President appoints the members of both commissions, with the consent of the Senate. The *Federal Reserve Board* was created in 1913 to administer the act of Congress which created the Federal Reserve Bank. Its members are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate. It is difficult to see why its work was not included with the solution of our other Federal financial problems in the Treasury Department. Its duty is so to administer the Federal Reserve Bank that honest and necessary business may not be cramped in times of uncertainty or panic. Its methods of work are too difficult for discussion here, but its purpose is to study the condition of our money market and to use the power of the government to secure credit for those who deserve it in times of financial stress. The *Civil Service Commission* is not included in any of the great departments of the

government and it would be difficult for it to be so placed. This is because it supervises the examination of candidates for appointment in all of the departments. The commission consists of three men, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. Not more than two of them may be from one political party. Its members are not adequately paid, but its work is as well done as the present lack of interest in efficient service permits. The Commission was created in 1883 when salaries were small and adequate increases have not been granted. It controls a large force of clerks, examiners, and other aids in all parts of the country, and supervises the employment and promotion of Federal civil servants in thousands of offices. *The Smithsonian Institution*, situated at Washington, was established in 1846, as a result of a bequest in the will of James Smithson. It is now financed and controlled by the Federal Government through a board of regents consisting of the Vice-President of the United States, several other officers of the government, three members of each house of the Congress, and six citizens selected by the Congress. It promotes scientific discoveries and distributes the knowledge resulting from these discoveries. Among its investigations are researches in ethnology or the development of the human race; astrophysics or the materials of which the heavenly bodies consist; zoölogy or the science of animal life on earth; and the like. It also promotes the work of the American Historical Association in making a thorough study of our national history; and the cataloging of the scientific knowledge of the world. It is evident that much of this work would not be financially profitable to a private person and so should be financed by the government. If a Department of Education is created, it seems reason-

able to suppose that this institution may be included in it.

A MODEL CITY CHARTER¹

ARTICLE I

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE

Section 1. A Council of from five to twenty-five members shall exercise all of the power vested in the government of the city.

Section 2. The Council shall act through ordinances passed by a majority of the Council.

Section 3. It shall be a misdemeanor for any member of the Council to interfere with the City Manager's appointment of his subordinates or his administration of the work of the city through them.

Section 4. The Council shall elect one of its members to act as chairman, and he shall have the title of Mayor. He shall act as the official head of the city for ceremonial purposes; and in time of emergency, he may, with the consent of the Council, enforce the laws.

Section 5. The members of the Council shall be elected for a term of four years. The elections shall be held every second year. The preferential ballot shall be used in these elections.

Section 6. Members of the Council shall be nominated by petition.

¹ In 1916 the National Municipal League published A Model City Charter, the result of the most careful work of a committee of leading students of political science. The outline here given is based on this publication, but it is merely a hint at topics which should be carefully studied in that document. Copies of the Charter may be obtained from the secretary of the League.

Section 7. If fifteen per cent of the voters petition for the recall of a member of the Council, the question whether he shall be recalled shall be submitted to the people of the city.

ARTICLE II

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Section 1. If fifteen per cent of the voters petition for it, a proposed ordinance shall be submitted to the Council. If the Council vote against the ordinance, it shall be referred to the people for a vote.

Section 2. If ten per cent of the voters petition for it, an ordinance passed by the Council shall be reconsidered by it. If the Council then pass the ordinance again, it shall be referred to the people for a vote.

Section 3. Before any such measure is referred to the people for a vote, the city clerk shall mail to each voter the text of the proposed measure, together with arguments for and against its approval.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS OF ADMINISTRATION

Section 1. The chief executive of the city shall be a City Manager, who shall be chosen by the Council on the basis of his qualifications as an executive.

Section 2. The City Manager shall be responsible to the Council for the administration of the affairs of the city, and he may be removed by the Council at any time.

Section 3. The City Manager may attend the meetings of the Council and take part in its discussions. It shall

be his duty to appoint and, if need be, remove those officers whose duty it is to aid him in the administration of the affairs of the city.

Section 4. The work of the city shall be distributed among six departments: law, health, education, finance, works and utilities, safety and welfare.

Section 5. The Council may abolish or create departments at its pleasure.

Section 6. At the head of each department shall be a Director, who shall be responsible to the City Manager for the conduct of his department, and whom the City Manager shall appoint and may remove at pleasure.

Section 7. The Council shall appoint a Civil Service Board of three members whose duty it shall be to aid the City Manager in the selection, promotion, and removal of civil servants.

ARTICLE IV

FINANCES

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the City Manager to lay before the Council an annual budget covering the receipts and expenditures of the city.

Section 2. The budget shall contain parallel statements showing receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year just closing and for the fiscal year for which appropriations are asked; and where these statements do not agree, the differences shall be clearly shown and the reasons for them clearly stated.

Section 3. The budget shall contain a summary statement of the whole financial standing of the city at the time

it is submitted to the Council, the value of the city's property, the city's debts, and such other matter as will make it possible for a citizen to estimate the solvency of his community.

Section 4. The budget shall be given ample publicity before it is taken up for action by the Council, and public hearings on it shall be held.

ARTICLE V CITY PLANNING

Section 1. The Council shall create a City Planning Board whose duty it shall be to make recommendations to the Council and the City Manager looking to the improvement of the plan of the city.

A MODEL STATE CONSTITUTION¹

ARTICLE I REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE

Section 1. Should the State legislature consist of two chambers or one?

¹ Many of our States have recently been studying their constitutions for the purpose of revising them. Unfortunately no body of mature scholars in this field has as yet reduced to writing a definite statement of what a model State constitution should contain; but it is proposed to prepare such a statement in the near future and it will be awaited with much interest. In the meantime it is undesirable to criticise our present governments without working toward constructive discussion of substitutes for the arrangements with which we find fault. The outline here given is in the form of questions, and it is hoped that the teachers and pupils will, so far as possible, work in the direction of making for themselves a model constitution for their own State. Then when the proposed Model Constitution appears they will be interested in comparing the proposal with the results of their own work.

Section 2. Should its members be elected on the proportional representation plan?

Section 3. Should the powers of the legislature be limited through placing a bill of rights in the constitution? If so, what should these limits be?

Section 4. Should the members be nominated by petition and elected on a preferential ballot?

Section 5. What should be the length of their terms, and the amount of their remuneration?

Section 6. Should the constitution contain parliamentary rules telling how the members of the legislature shall carry on their business.

Section 7. Should the constitution contain commands to the legislature directing them to legislate on particular subjects? Among such subjects might be education, health, social welfare, and the like.

ARTICLE II

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Section 1. Is it desirable for the State to attempt to make laws and to amend the constitution through the processes of popular initiative and referendum?

Section 2. If initiative and referendum are desirable, what percentages of the number of voters should be required by the constitution to make these processes effective?

Section 3. What provision should be made for the distribution of information and arguments on the subject of the proposed popular legislation?

Section 4. Should there be a provision that no legislation not approved by the legislature shall be enacted by

popular vote without the consent of at least a majority of the whole number voting at the election at which the legislation is submitted?

ARTICLE III

THE JUDICIARY

Section 1. What courts are needed by the State? Should all of these be mentioned in the constitution or should the legislature be free to create and abolish courts as is the case in the Government of the United States?

Section 2. How should judges be selected? What should be their tenure of office?

Section 3. Should the powers of the courts be limited in the constitution? Should the legislature be left free to provide such limitations as the sentiment of the time suggests?

ARTICLE IV

THE GOVERNOR

Section 1. How should the governor be nominated?

Section 2. How should he be elected?

Section 3. What should be the governor's powers?

Section 4. How should the governor be removed?

Section 5. What should be his term of office and salary?

Should these be provided in the constitution or left to the legislature?

Section 6. Should the constitution contain a description of the kind of person who may be elected governor, or should those whose duty it is to select him be free to select the kind of person they want?

ARTICLE VII

DEPARTMENTS OF ADMINISTRATION

Section 1. Should the constitution contain a list of the departments of administration or should the legislature be left free to create and abolish departments at will?

Section 2. Should the heads of all departments be appointed by the governor, or should some of them be elected by the people? If they are appointed by the governor, should it be necessary for the senate or some other body to consent to the governor's selections?

Section 3. Should the constitution contain a section describing a plan of civil service examinations, or should this be left to the legislature?

ARTICLE VIII

FINANCE

Section 1. What provision should be made for making up a budget? It is clear that the form of this section would depend on the previous ones dealing with the governor and the legislature.

Section 2. Should the constitution contain provisions about taxation, or should matters of this sort be left to the legislature?

Section 2. Should the constitution contain provisions about the State debt, and the property of the State, or should these be left to the legislature?

ARTICLE IX

MISCELLANEOUS MATTER

What other matter should the State constitution contain? The best answer to this question may possibly be arrived at through a study of first the Model City Charter and then the Constitution of the United States. It would also be well to make a brief outline of the articles and sections of one's own State constitution.

ARTICLE X

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Section 1. Should the constitution contain an article giving home rule to the cities and counties?

Section 2. If home rule is given, what method should be provided in the constitution, if any, for the making and changing of city and county charters?

ARTICLE XI

Section 1. How should the constitution be amended?

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the

general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.]¹ The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every

¹ See Amendments, Article XVI.

thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature¹ thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained

¹ See Amendments, Article XVII.

to the Age of Thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of Honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party eonvicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elec-

tions, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been en-

creased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or

being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatitves, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subjeet of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To eoin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and eurrent Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax

or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct,¹ tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States; And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit, make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

¹ See Amendments, Article XVI.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Producee of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector. [The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Nuniber of Votes for each; which

List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.] ¹

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and

¹ See Amendments, Article XII.

been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Con-

sent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a state and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be a Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for

proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth IN WITNESS whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G^o WASHINGTON—
Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall

private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

ARTICLE XII

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct list of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors

appointed ; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President ; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President,

or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by two thirds vote of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of each State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided* that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation therof from the United States and all territory

subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

AN INITIATIVE PETITION

WARNING

It is felony for any one to sign any initiative or referendum petition with any other name than his own, or to knowingly sign his name more than once for the measure, or to sign such petition when he is not a legal voter.

INITIATIVE PETITION

To the Honorable Richard Roe,

Secretary of State for the State of Oregon:

We, the undersigned citizens and legal voters of the State of Oregon, respectfully demand that the following proposed law shall be submitted to the legal voters of the State of Oregon, for their approval or rejection, at the regular general election to be held on the fifth day of November, A.D. 1912, and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition; I am a legal voter of the State of Oregon; my residence and postoffice are correctly written after my name.

	Name	Residence (If in a city, Street and No.)	Postoffice
1			
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STATE OF OREGON,
COUNTY OF COLUMBIA. } ss.

I, John Smith, being first duly sworn, say: signed this sheet of the foregoing petition, and each of them signed his name thereto in my presence; I believe that each has stated his name, postoffice address, and residence correctly, and that each signer is a legal voter of the State of Oregon and County of Columbia.

JOHN SMITH,

Postoffice address: Warren, Columbia Co., Ore.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 5th day of July, A.D. 1912. }

JOHN BROWN,

Notary Public for Oregon.

Postoffice address: Warren, Columbia Co., Ore.

A BILL

For an Act to exempt certain property from taxation.

Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon:

Section 1. The following property shall be exempt from taxation: All public stocks and securities; all bonds, warrants and moneys due or to become due from this State.

A PETITION FOR REFERENDUM**WARNING**

It is a felony for any one to sign any initiative or referendum petition with any other name than his own, or to knowingly sign his name more than once for the measure, or to sign such petition when he is not a legal voter.

PETITION FOR REFERENDUM

To the Honorable Richard Roe,

Secretary of State for the State of Oregon:

We, the undersigned citizens and legal voters of the State of Oregon, respectfully order that the Senate Bill No. 9999, entitled,—“An Act to establish classes for the instruction of non-English-speaking aliens in the English language,” passed by the 31st legislative assembly of the State of Oregon, at the regular session of said legislative assembly of the State of Oregon, shall be referred to the people of the State for their approval or rejection at the regular election to be held on the 5th day of November, A.D. 1918, and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition; I am a legal voter of the State of

Oregon; my residence and postoffice are correctly written after my name.

	Name	Residence (If in a city, Street and No.)	Postoffice
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STATE OF OREGON, } ss.
COUNTY OF COLUMBIA. }

I, John Smith, being first duly sworn, say:
signed this sheet of the foregoing petition, and each of them
signed his name thereto in my presence; I believe that each
has stated his name, postoffice address, and residence cor-
rectly, and that each signer is a legal voter of the State of
Oregon and County of Columbia.

JOHN SMITH,
Postoffice address: Warren, Columbia Co., Ore.

A RECALL PETITION

To Henry Grant,
Secretary of State,
Phoenix, Arizona.

Sir: We, the qualified electors of the electoral district from which John Doe, Governor of the State of Arizona, was elected, demand his recall.

The grounds for the recall of the said John Doe, Governor of Arizona, are as follows:

That the said John Doe is utterly incompetent to perform the duties of his office.

This his administration has been recklessly extravagant and that the burdens of the taxpayers of the State have been unduly increased by reason of his creation of unnecessary positions.

That the said John Doe has wantonly disobeyed the statute laws of the state and has set himself above the law and the courts, refusing to carry out their plainest mandates.

STATE OF ARIZONA, }
COUNTY OF GRAHAM. } ss.

William White, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that he circulated the foregoing recall petition and that, as such, he knows the contents thereof and that the signatures thereon are genuine.

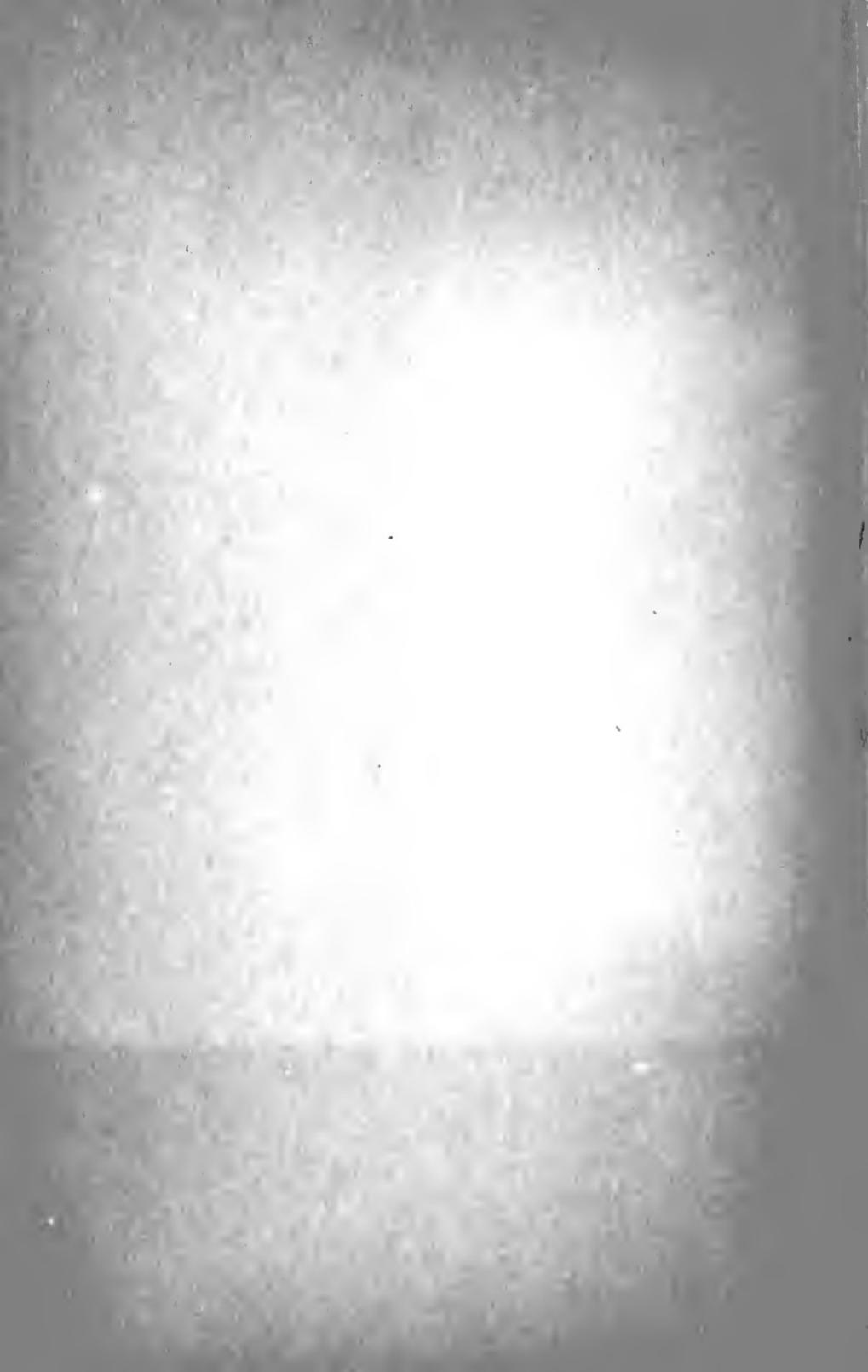
WILLIAM WHITE.

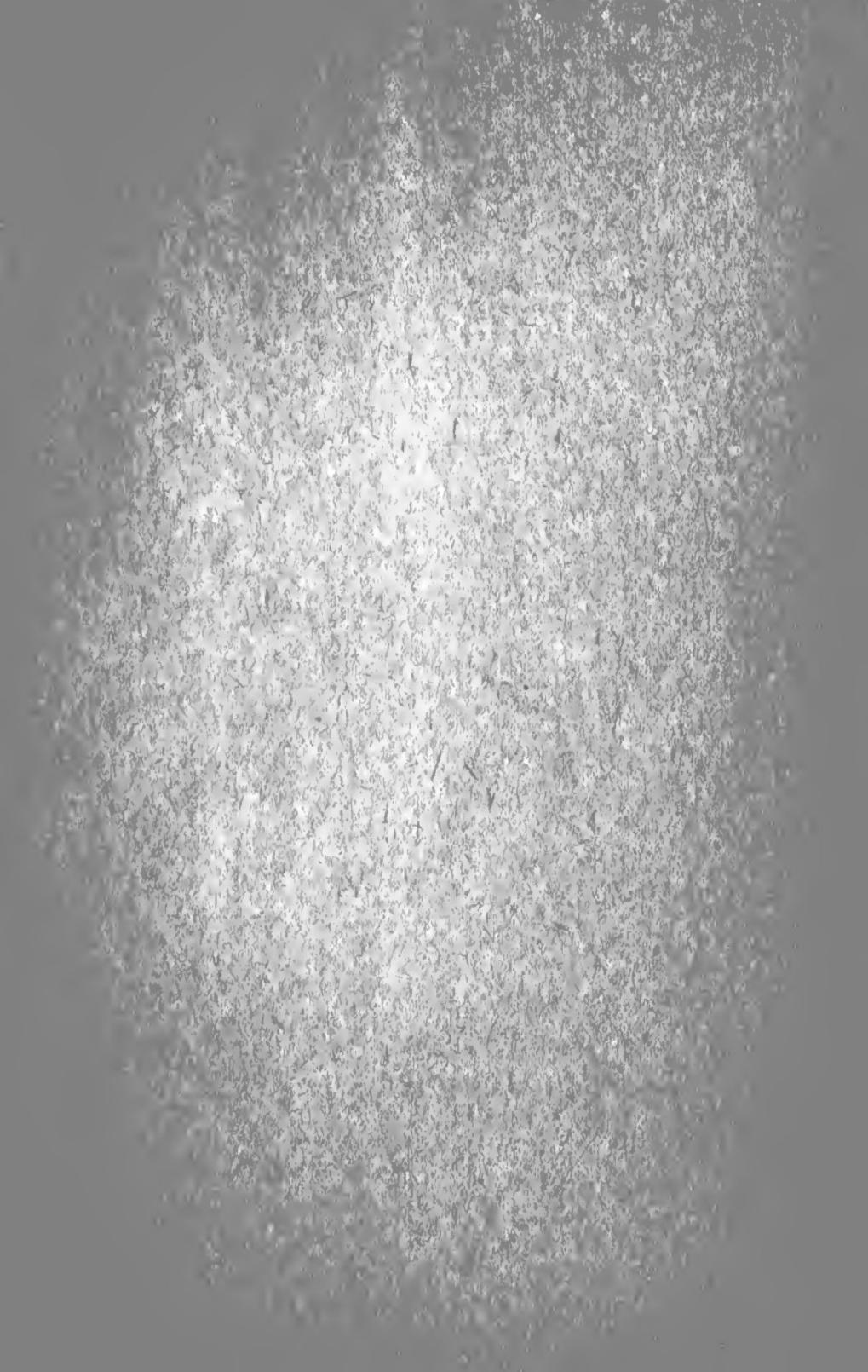
Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 2nd day of January, A.D. 1919. }

SAMUEL SMITH.

Notary Public.

My commission expires March 1, 1919.





Form L-9-35m-8, '28

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